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국제학석사학위논문

The Prevalence of Gender Essentialism in Korean Policies for Gender Equality:

Limited Gender Sensitivity of KOICA's Projects

한국의 성평등을 위한
정책에서 나타나는 젠더 근본주의:
KOICA 프로젝트의 제한된 젠더감수성

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Limited Gender Sensitivity of KOICA's Projects

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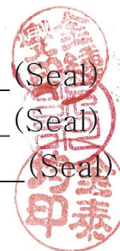
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Abstract

The Prevalence of Gender Essentialism in Korean Policies for Gender Equality:

Limited Gender Sensitivity of KOICA's Projects

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Gender essentialism is a notion that women are the vulnerable or mothers or untapped resources for economic development on the belief that women's essence is given and universal.

Women have been discriminated by gender and transnational organizations for women and feminists demanded the international community to fight the gender-based discrimination against women and the international community agreed to do it. For example, the Beijing Platform for Action declared in 1995 address how to fight the gender-based discrimination with transformation of the prescribed gender roles.

The gender-based discrimination can result from gender essentialism that favors masculinism, so feminists insisted that gender equality with transforming the prescribed gender roles to construct new gender roles is necessary for gender equality.

Accordingly, many countries which agreed to the Beijing Platform for Action adopted policies and strategies for gender equality and the international development cooperation business also started to provide international development assistance for gender equality.

The development assistance is, however, dependent on domestic politics and policies that could be not coherent with the global norms. Besides, the meaning of gender equality can be conveniently fixed, shrunk, stretched, and bent for national interests. Therefore, the discourse of gender equality is important for setting up an orientation of policies related to gender equality.

In the case of South Korea, domestic policies have been disadvantageous to women and gender essentialism was conceived in policies. Besides, Korean ODA governance is based on a government-initiated network at which the government's agendas are set prioritized. Therefore, the government's discourse and policies of gender issues are highly connected to Korean ODA for gender equality.

According to the findings of this study, from Lee Myung-bak administration that was affected by the previous administrations to Moon Jae-in's administration, Korean policies conceived gender essentialism. Thus, KOICA's ODA projects for gender equality have not gender-sensitive. Therefore, the discourse of gender equality needs to be discussed to challenge gender essentialism.

Keywords: Gender essentialism, Gender equality, ODA, The government-initiated network, Discourse, Policies (within 6 words)

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List of Acronyms

CIDC	Committee of International Development Cooperation
CSW	The Commission on the Status of Women
CPS	Country Partnership Strategy
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
EACP	East Asia Climate Partnership
FAO	The Food and Agriculture Organization
GAD	Gender and Development
KOICA	Korea International Cooperation Agency
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
MOEF	Ministry of Economy and Finance
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOGEF	Ministry of Gender Equality and Family
WAD	Women and Development
WID	Women in Development

I. Introduction

1.1. Purpose of Research and Research Questions

Korea has been providing official development assistance for gender equality as the country decided to comply with the global norms including accepted feminists' ideas for gender equality. However, the process and effectiveness of Korean ODA for gender equality have been suspected for multiple reasons. This study assumes that Korean ODA for gender equality has been affected by domestic policies conceiving a discourse disadvantageous to gender equality, so examines following questions.

-Have Korean domestic policies conceived gender essentialism?

-Have KOICA's ODA projects been NOT gender sensitive by Korean domestic policies related to gender equality?

Gender essentialism fortifies the discourse differentiating human beings with two genders that are restricted by stereotypes of ideas of what would mean masculinity and femininity, which could aggravate gender inequality. As many governments including Korean government still manage people's genders by two genders based on biological sexes, Korean policies, even for policies for gender equality, could be influenced by the gender essentialism.

Besides, Korean official foreign aid/ODA (Official Development Assistance) agency, KOICA officially follows the lead of MOFA (Korean ministry of foreign affairs) as KOICA complies with policies suggested by the ministry belonging to the

government. Therefore, this study conducts an examination of the influence by the gender essentialism in Korean policies on KOICA's projects to check if the influence restricted gender-sensitive approaches in the projects or not.

II. Literature Review

2.1. From Discussion on Gender Equality of Development to Implementation of Gender Mainstreaming by International Community and South Korea

In Paris on 10 December 1948, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the Declaration of Human rights that covered fundamental human rights, so all the people's basic human rights can be universally respected and protected. Its article 1 and article 2 clarify that all human beings are born equal in dignity and rights and everyone must not be discriminated by sex¹.

Nevertheless, gender inequality was prevalent over the world, so how to promote gender equality was discussed by international community and it was led to implementing foreign aid for gender equality. This section assesses how the international community started discussing gender equality, how gender equality was understood and what kind of measures were adopted to target gender equality with relevant resources, which provides the overall process of discourses on gender equality by international community and how Korea adopted ODA for gender equality.

According to Parpart et al (2000), during the 1950s and 1960s, the discourse on

¹ The United Nations. UN General Assembly. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. <https://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/> (accessed on 12 May 2019).

gender inequality was started with a concept, 'women-and-development.' This term connotes that women can and must participate in development with men. As colonized countries, where women had participated in independence movements, became independent from colonialism, 'women-and-development' was mentioned. The Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) had been active at the time since its establishment before the 1950s, but the activities were just about human rights not specifically about women's issues (Parpart et al, 2000²).

In the 1970s, the assumption that the benefit of national development would be equally distributed to women and men based on the welfare approach was criticized as women's situations were not improved significantly or some of them became worse (Beneria and Sen, 1981³). Then the term "women in development" (WID) was coined by a Washington-based network of female development experts. As the gender inequality was firstly challenged with criticizing the welfare approach or "trickle-down" theories, the 1970s when WID was coined was safe to be called the start point of promoting gender equality (Razavi and Miller 1995⁴; Kim et al., 2015⁵).

The main influence of WID was effort to assist women join the existing development initiatives, the men's society. The WID approach was carried as it was

² Jane L. Parpart, M. Patricia Connelly and V. Eudine Barriteau. 2000. *Theoretical Perspectives on Gender Development*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre: 33-36.

³ Lourdes Beneria and Gita Sen. 1981. "Accumulation, Reproduction, and Women's Role in Economic Development: Boserup Revisited." *Development and the Sexual Division of Labor*. Signs, Vol. 7, No. 2: 279-298.

⁴ Shahrashoub Razavi, Carol Miller. 1995. "From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse." *United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, UNRISD Occasional Paper*, No. 1 : 2-3.

⁵ Kim et al. 2015. "A Study on the Gender-sensitive Evaluation on South Korea's ODA Projects." *The Women's Studies*. Vol. 88 No.1: 284-285.

focused on egalitarianism that means everyone must be treated the same way. Accordingly, women were supported to be acknowledge as equal partners of production, employment and economic growth. For example, the World Bank and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) tried to incorporate women into development progress. This approach implies that the integrity of existing social system was never questioned, and aspects of women's production were emphasized than other aspects, marginalizing women's lives. In sum, just "equal employment opportunities for women" was the main theory of feminists in this period. (Ransom and Bain, 2011⁶; Razavi and Miller 1995⁷; M. Rathgeber; 1989⁸).

In the middle of 1970s after appearance of WID, Marxist feminists suggested class-based understanding of discrimination against women, because they considered just incorporating women into the economic area was considered as maintenance of dependency theory. Unlike liberal feminists of WID who supported egalitarianism in terms of women that resulted in promoting "equal employment opportunities for women," Marxist feminists expected that gender equality would be realized if the international structure becomes equal for all the countries. This approach is Women and Development (WAD).

⁶ Elizabeth Ransom and Carmen Bain. 2011. "Gendering Agricultural Aid An Analysis of Whether International Development Assistance Targets Women and Gender." *GENDER & SOCIETY*, Vol. 25 No. 1:51-52.

⁷ Shahrashoub Razavi, Carol Miller. 1995. "From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse." United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, UNRISD Occasional Paper, No. 1 : 2-9.

⁸ Eva M. Rathgeber. 1989. "WID, WAD, GAD: Trends in Research and Practice." International Development Research Centre.: 2-8

The WAD approach stressed women's self-sufficient production, potential rejecting capitalism and criticized inequality of the international structure. However, this approach still could not make changes in practical in comparison with the WID approach. As the WAD was focused on criticizing discrimination in classes and capitalism, the other elements about marginalization of women except the economic aspect were not discussed (Eathgeber, 1989⁹; Singh. 2007¹⁰.)

In the 1980s, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach was introduced by postmodern and postcolonial feminists who argued that structural causes of women's marginalization need to be addressed and gender mainstreaming is necessary for gender equality. The approaches of WID and WAD were not able to address the structural causes of gender inequality as they stressed only economic aspects. On the other hand, feminist-anthropology adduced how "maleness" and "femaleness" were socially constructed as gender norms, which was connected to an idea that gender inequality is caused by gender norms made through social construction. According to this approach, gender mainstreaming, which is considering constructed gender norms into all the projects and programming for gender equality, was initiated.

Since the fourth world conference on women in September 1995 in Beijing, gender mainstreaming has been adopted as the main strategy for gender equality. Many international organizations like the UN (The United Nations) and the OECD

⁹ Ibid., pp.8-11

¹⁰ Shweta Singh. 2007. "Deconstructing 'gender and development' for 'identities of women'." International Journal of Social Welfare, ISSN 1369-6866, 16: 101-104.

(Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) also embraced gender mainstreaming. At present, OECD/DAC (Development Assistance Committee) members like Korea, UK, Canada and some members are planning and implementing gender mainstreaming in their ODA projects and programs (Jaquette, 2017¹¹; Razavi and miller, 1995¹²; Nam, 2009¹³).

As South Korea join the OECD/DAC, the CIDC (Committee of International Development Cooperation) announced the three strategies for the Comprehensive ODA Improvement Plan that states Korean ODA (Official Development Assistance) will comply with international standards of international development assistance including the guideline and review of the OECD DAC¹⁴.

Korean ODA was criticized by the OECD DAC with the special review on Korean ODA in 2008 which indicated that ‘gender’ receives insignificant funding¹⁵. In accordance with the guideline and review of the OECD DAC, the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) decided to promote gender equality with twin-track strategy that consists of women empowerment and gender mainstreaming of all the efforts of Korean official development assistance (ODA)¹⁶.

¹¹ Jane S. Jaquette. 2017. “Women/Gender and Development: the Growing Gap Between Theory and Practice.” *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Volume 52, Issue 2: 245–247

¹² Shahrashoub Razavi, Carol Miller. 1995. “From WID to GAD: Conceptual Shifts in the Women and Development Discourse.” *United Nations Research Institute for Social Development*: 12-14

¹³ 남영숙. 2009. 「개발원조기구의 성 주류화 정책 경험에 대한 비판적 고찰」. 『여성학논집』 9권 4호. pp.223-255.

¹⁴ 국제개발협력위원회. 2010. 「국제개발협력 선진화 방안」. 『제 7차 국제개발협력위원회 의결안건』 제7-1호. pp.99.

¹⁵ OECD DAC. 2008. Development Co-operation of the Republic of Korea DAC Special Review. OECD DAC. pp.18.

¹⁶ 한국국제협력단. 2011. 『KOICA 성평등 목표 전략 (2011-2015).』 pp. 3-7.

2.2. The Discourse of the “Equality between Women and Men” over “Gender Equality” Relevant with Gender Essentialism

To plan and implement gender mainstreaming, the definition or meaning of gender equality must be first addressed. Gender equality is not a single and fixed notion. According to Plantenga et. al (2009)¹⁷, gender equality is complicate, and it has diverse dimensions and lots of layers, therefore, fixing ‘gender equality’ into a definition is the first and necessary step of promoting gender equality.

Gender equality can be categorized into three major stances. The first is the model of equal opportunities/treatment under a prerequisite that women and men are same; the second one is to provide affirmative action for women stressing differences between women and men; the last is the model of transformative approaches challenging patriarchal norms and institutions (Walby, 2005¹⁸).

According to Lee and Kim (2012), feminist scholars, such as Fraiser, Gormick, Meyers supporting potential of the model of transforming gender norms through gender mainstreaming, espouse the model of approaches challenging the patriarchy and the dichotomy between women and men transforming gender norms¹⁹.

They advocated transforming gender norms, because they all shared a belief that gender equality can’t be achieved with strategies based on male norms and the last

¹⁷ Janneke Plantenga, Chantal Remery, Hugo Figueiredo, and Mark Smith (2009), “Towards a European Union Gender Equality Index”, *Journal of European Social Policy*, 19(1): 19-33

¹⁸ Sylvia Walby. 2005, “Gender Mainstreaming: Productive Tensions in Theory and Practice”, *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State and Society*, 12(3):321-343.

¹⁹ 이재경, 김경희. 2012. 「여성주의 정책 패러다임 모색과 ‘성평등’」. 『한국여성학』 28 (3) . pp.16-17.

model especially suggests directions and strategies for the male norms. One of specific examples of gender equality by the model would be integrating men into care givers that used to be only women's responsibility.

Unlike the third model, the model of equal opportunities/treatment would simply integrate women into breadwinners without considering the unequal structure of gender norms and the model of affirmative actions for women maintains the division of gender roles and neutralize discourses about gender inequality by just provision of financial supports. However, the last model could change the unequal structure of society that is established with male norms²⁰.

Furthermore, policies for gender equality without challenging male norms could result in gender essentialism. It is a notion that women are the vulnerable or mothers or untapped resources for economic development on the belief that women's essence is given and universal (Puechguirbal, 2010²¹; Manicom, 2010²²; Mahalingam, 2003²³; Chant, 2016²⁴). Gender essentialism restricts women into the vulnerable or mothers or civilians based on the belief that women's essence is given and universal

²⁰ Ibid. pp. 16-19.

²¹ Nadine Puechguirbal. 2010. "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents." *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.17, No.2: 172–174.

²² Desiree Pushpeganday Manicom. 2010. "Gender Essentialism: a Conceptual and Empirical Exploration of Notions of Maternal Essence as a Framework for Explaining Gender Difference." *School of Sociology and Social Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg*: 4-8.

²³ Ramaswami Mahalingam. 2003. "Essentialism, Culture, and Beliefs About Gender Among the Aravanis of Tamil Nadu, India." *Sex Roles*, Vol. 49, Nos. 9/10: 489-490.

²⁴ Sylvia Chant. 2016. "Women, Girls and World Poverty: Empowerment, Equality or Essentialism?" *International Development Planning Review*, 38 (1): 1-7.

(Puechguirbal, 2010²⁵; Manicom, 2010²⁶; Mahalingam, 2003²⁷; Philips, 2010²⁸).

Gender essentialism has been used to justify the men's higher positions than the women's in the society (Anthias and Yural Davis, 1983²⁹; Narayan, 1998³⁰; Mccall, 2005³¹), hence it contradicts the general ideas of gender equality supported by feminists.

The patriarchy, dichotomy between men and women and gender essentialism were established with male norms dividing gender roles and facilitating gender inequality. Thus, feminists insist that transforming gender norms is necessary for achieving gender equality. International intervention for gender equality, especially, gender mainstreaming of the GAD approach was introduced by feminists' efforts to ameliorate women's marginalized positions and to transform gender norms aggravating gender inequality. Accordingly, the feminists' ideas must be considered as to ODA for gender equality.

According to Cornwall (2015), international development industry could not be

²⁵ Nadine Puechguirbal. 2010. "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents." *International Peacekeeping*, Vol.17, No.2: 172–174.

²⁶ Desiree Pushpeganday Manicom. 2010. "Gender essentialism: a Conceptual and Empirical Exploration of Notions of Maternal Essence as a Framework for Explaining Gender Difference." *School of Sociology and Social Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg*: 4-8.

²⁷ Ramaswami Mahalingam. 2003 "Essentialism, Culture, and Beliefs About Gender Among the Aravanis of Tamil Nadu, India." *Sex Roles*, Vol. 49, Nos. 9/10: 489-490.

²⁸ Anne Phillips. 2010. "What's Wrong with Essentialism?" *Scandinavian journal of social theory*, 11 (1): 47-60.

²⁹ Floya Anthias and Nira Yuval-Davis. 1983 "Contextualizing Feminism-Gender, Ethnic and Class Divisions." *Feminist Review* No. 15: .67-73.

³⁰ Uma Narayan. 1998. "Essence of Culture and a Sense of History: A Feminist Critique of Cultural Essentialism." *Hypatia* vol. 13, no. 2: 86-87.

³¹ Leslie McCall. 2005. "The Complexity of Intersectinality." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 30, no. 3.:1779.

able to address gender inequality if it could not transform structured gender norms for gender equality. The efforts for gender equality without transforming gender norms could result in limited changes for gender equality and the maintenance of gender essentialism³².

For example, Canadian ODA for gender equality was replaced with ODA for “equality between women and men” and gendered notions were not considered. Furthermore, women were seen as just the most vulnerable group (Tissen, 2015³³; Tissen, 2015³⁴). Plus, in the case of UN documents, peace operations and Finnish peacekeepers’ operation in Kosovo, essentialized notions of women are found (Valenius, 2007³⁵; Holvoet and Inberg, 2012³⁶). In short, approaches to gender equality without efforts to transform socially structured male norms or gender norms could end up gender essentialism.

According to Tissen and Carrier (2015), the discursive shift from “gender equality” to “equality between women and men,” constrained efforts for gender equality from studying institutions, policies and practices that are gendered, which means

³² Andrea Cornwall. 2015. “From ‘Gender Equality and ‘Women’s Empowerment’ to Global Justice: Reclaiming a Transformative Agenda for Gender and Development.” *Third World Quarterly* Volume 36, Issue 2: 1-14.

³³ Rebecca Tiessen. 2015. “Gender Essentialism in Canadian Foreign Aid Commitments to Women, Peace, and Security.” *International Journal*, Vol. 70(1): 84–100.

³⁴ Rebecca Tiessen. 2015. “‘Walking Wombs’: Making Sense of the Muskoka Initiative and the Emphasis on Motherhood in Canadian Foreign Policy.” *Global justice: Theory Practice Rhetoric* (8/1): 74-92.

³⁵ Johanna Valenius. 2007. “A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations.” *International Peacekeeping*, 14:4: 510-523.

³⁶ Nathalie Holvoet, Liesbeth Inberg. 2012. “Changing Aid Policies through a Gender Lens: an International Perspective and the Case of the Dutch Development Cooperation.” *Journal of International Women's Studies*, Volume 13, Issue 3, article: 1-13.

transforming gender norms is hardly possible by “equality between women and men” as addressing gender inequality is confined in oversimplified equal treatment for men and women alone.

Besides, “equality between women and men” consider inequality issues as a problem between just men and women without encompassing people define themselves outside two biological categories. Then, “gender equality” could be perceived as a problem caused from just biological differences not from gender norms that are socially constructed³⁷.

Tissen and Carrier (2015) highlighted the influence of the discourse of the dichotomy between women and men. They insisted that the discourse of “equality between women and men.” brought three major phenomena, first, the delay of key government initiatives on gender due to internal squabbling; second, the omission of gender issues and even not addressing “women”, and third, the selection of programs not addressing the representation of women without dealing with problems about the status and power in terms of gender.

The insider activists of Canadian ODA who were interviewed by Tissen and Carrier’ said the change in language is “a big deal,” because the change in phraseology is believed to slow the speed with policy documents being generated by government initiatives as they dispute over the language.

³⁷ Rebecca Tiessen & Krystel Carrier. 2015. “The Erasure of “Gender” in Canadian Foreign Policy under the Harper Conservatives: the Significance of the Discursive Shift from “Gender Equality” to “Equality between Women and Men.” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 21:2: 95-111.

In terms of the omission of gender and even women and the selection of programs, the participants said “equality between women and men” perspective had different objectives, approaches from the approach of “gender equality” as “equality between women and men” is restricted to women’s health needs with not enough addressing women’s needs.³⁸

The participants emphasized that (ODA) programs were affected by discourse changes. According to them, as their government got into work on women’s rights with the ‘equality between women and men’ perspective, funding for “gender equality” was reduced; attention to the causes of inequality fell short of attention; lastly, girls’ education was deemed acceptable although the root causes preventing girls from obtaining education was not addressed³⁹. In conclusion, Canadian discourse of gender equality, “equality between women and men” in ODA business resulted in gender essentialism of their ODA.

Gender essentialism, as mentioned, is a notion that women are the vulnerable or just mothers or untapped resources for economic development on the belief that women’s essence is given and universal. The discourse of Canadian ODA, “equality between women and men” is rooted from the dichotomy of men and women, focused on women as mothers, did not address social norms facilitating gender inequality of society. The changes of Canadian ODA of “equality between women and men” fit

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

into the criteria of gender essentialism.

The dichotomy between women and men that is the root of the discourse, “equality between women and men” shows how gender essentialism is relevant with it. Gender has been used to symbolize the relationship between reason and its opposites. Men were assumed as “rational” and women were assumed as the ones who do not know things and (J.M, 1983⁴⁰; E.F, 1985⁴¹). On the other hand, women were seen as mothers, vulnerable creatures and care givers, the opposite to men as essential natures between women and men are focused (Hare-Mustin, 1987)⁴².

Hare-Mustin (1987) insisted that values are enmeshed with theory everywhere in developmental theory and suggested that such gender norms preserve the status quo and do not make society or individuals change, insisting that “separate and equal” is a simple and right solution although men and women are not opposites in real sense. In this way, the dichotomy between women and men exaggerates differences between groups of people, which result in gender essentialism⁴³.

Such changes of ODA programs by discourse change found in Canadian ODA, focusing on women’s health; lack of funding for “gender equality;” low attention to the causes of inequality and more attention to girls’ education have commons with Korean policies including policies of ODA and domestic gender issues.

⁴⁰ Broughton, J.M. 1983. “Women’s Rationality and Men’s Virtues: A Critique of Gender Dualism in Gilligan’s Theory of Moral Development.” *Social Research*. 50: 597-642.

⁴¹ E. f Keller. 1985. *Reflections on Gender and Science*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

⁴² Rachel T. Hare-Mustin. 1987. “The Gender Dichotomy and Developmental Theory: a Response to Sayers.” *New Ideas in Psychology* Volume 5, Issue 2: 261-267.

⁴³ Idid.

In the case of Korean domestic policies for gender equality have commons with gender essentialism, Firstly, Korean policies of gender confined women as recipients and the vulnerable who have problems and should depend on men. Secondly, women were integrated into labor not considering gender issues (untapped resources). Thirdly, the responsibility of childcare was imposed on women and the structure was hardly changed. Fourth, women were deemed as one entity in general (universal) not seeing difference of each woman based on intersectionality (Lee and Kim, 2012⁴⁴; Huh, 2006⁴⁵; Kim, 2004⁴⁶; Won, 2004⁴⁷).

Lee et al (2013⁴⁸) argued Korean ODA system is a ‘government-initiated network,’ that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) and the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MOEF) institute policies for ODA with the Committee for International Development Cooperation (CIDC) based on the government’s agendas (Cho, 2015⁴⁹). Therefore, KOICA must follow the policies made by superior institutes.

Korean ODA projects for gender equality had been criticized that ODA for gender equality as gender mainstreaming was not understood well and domestic policies

⁴⁴ 이재경, 김경희. 2012. 「여성주의 정책 패러다임 모색과 ‘성평등’」. 『한국여성학』 28 (3). pp.21-42.

⁴⁵ 허라금. 2006. 「보살핌의 사회화를 위한 여성주의의 사유」. 『한국여성학』 제22권 1 호. pp.21-42.

⁴⁶ 김혜경. 2004. 「보살핌노동의 정책화를 둘러싼 여성주의적 쟁점-”경제적 보상 (payments for care)“을 중심으로」. 『한국여성학』 제20권 2호. pp.75-104.

⁴⁷ 원미혜. 2004. 「여성주의 성정치-성매매 ‘근절’ 운동을 넘어서」. 『여성이론』 10. pp.75-104.

⁴⁸ 이슬비, 유희준, 박형준. 2013. 「한국 ODA 정책에 관한 연구-협력적 거버넌스 기제를 중심으로」. 『한국행정학회 학술발표논문집』 (한국행정학회 제2013년 동계학술발표 논문집). pp.409-439.

⁴⁹ 조홍식. 2015. 「한국의 ODA 정책과 국가 정체성: 기원과 발전과정 (1986-2009)」. 『사회과학논총』 1제 17집. pp.33-60.

can't be separated from agendas of gender equality or/and mainstreaming in development cooperation (Kim and Shim, 2018)⁵⁰. Kim and Choi also mentioned that Korean ODA with gender mainstreaming was addressed by Korean discourse of "Korea the advanced country" (Global Korea) that is for marketing the value of Korean development experience⁵¹. It suggests that Korean ODA policies for gender equality could have been affected by the government's discourse of gender by a government-initiated network as the Canadian ODA was also found affected by the government's agendas of gender.

2.3 Korean Domestic Policies Connected to the Korean ODA Policies through Korean Government-Initiated Network

The possibility of connection between ODA for gender equality and donors' national interests and gender essentialism was mentioned or criticized by previous studies of Korea, Canada and Nordic countries. The network of ODA policies should be constructed well for alignment of ODA projects with the government's agendas.

In the case of Korea, Kim (2012) approached to the structure of international development assistance with social constructivism that connects between the realism

⁵⁰ Eun Kyung Kim and Yehrhee Shim. 2018. "A Critical Analysis of South Korea's ODA Projects for Gender Equality." *Asian Women*. Vol. 34, No. 3: 119-147.

⁵¹ Kyunghee Kim and Hyejin Choi. 2013. "Developmental Discourse and Transformative Gender Mainstreaming? : The Case of ODA Training Program in Korea." *Korean Political Science Review* 47(3): 169-189.

and the liberalism. His explanation helps to understand how ODA is addressed as donors focus on the donor states' motivations by adopting international norms recommended or demanded to comply with by the international community⁵².

Lee et al (2013) argued Korean ODA system is national interests oriented based on their study of Korean official institutes addressing policies of Korean ODA by Kim's theory and Jung and Kim's classification of donors' type⁵³. According to the argument of Lee et al (2013), KOICA must follow the policies made by superior institutes.

Canadian ODA for gender equality was replaced with ODA for "equality between women and men" and gendered notions were not considered. Furthermore, women were seen as just the most vulnerable group (Tissen, 2015⁵⁴; Tissen, 2015⁵⁵).

In the case of UN documents, peace operations and Finnish peacekeepers' operation in Kosovo, essentialized notions of women are found. Additionally, Holvoet and Inberg (2012)⁵⁶ suggested that strategic framing of instrumentalism on development in terms of gender issues could facilitate application of gender

⁵² 김태균. 2012. 「개발협력의제의 사회적 구성: 글로벌 거버넌스에서 복합네트워킹의 정치학」. 『국제개발협력연구』 제4권 제1호. pp. 15.

⁵³ 정미영, 김동열. 2010. 「공적개발원조(ODA)의 지원 분야 및 행위자별 유형분석: 아시아지역 중심」. 『아시아연구』 제13권 제2호. pp. 15.

⁵⁴ Rebecca Tissen. 2015. "Gender Essentialism in Canadian Foreign Aid Commitments to Women, Peace, and Security." *International Journal*, Vol. 70(1): 84-100.

⁵⁵ Rebecca Tissen. 2015. "'Walking Wombs': Making Sense of the Muskoka Initiative and the Emphasis on Motherhood in Canadian Foreign Policy." *Global justice : Theory Practice Rhetoric* (8/1): 74-92.

⁵⁶ Nathalie Holvoet, Liesbeth Inberg. 2012. "Changing Aid Policies through a Gender Lens: an International Perspective and the Case of the Dutch Development Cooperation." *Journal of International Women's Studies*, Volume 13, Issue 3, article: 1-13.

essentialism (Valenius, 2007)⁵⁷.

Such findings like Korean pursuing national interests through ODA and Korean ODA system that facilitates influence of domestic politics on ODA projects suggest that Korean ODA including projects for gender equality were progressed under the Korean government-initiated network.

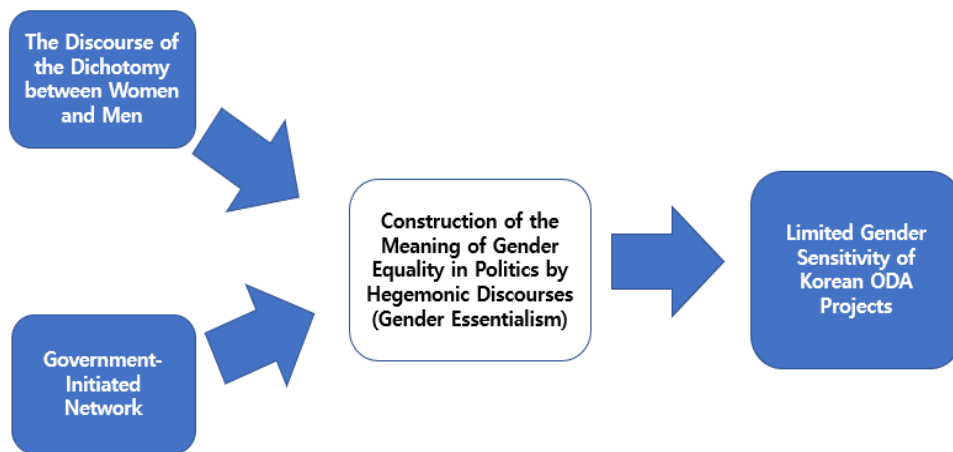
Furthermore, gender essentialism exposed on other donors' ODA activities is originated from their gender blindness and the UN documents relating international development assistance presents the possibility of Korean ODA projects also being affected by gender blindness of domestic policies.

⁵⁷ Johanna Valenius. 2007. "A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations." *International Peacekeeping*, 14:4: 510-523.

III. Analytical Framework and Methodology

3.1. Analytical Framework

Figure 1 The Framework of Constructing the Meaning of Gender Equality in Korean Political Process of ODA



This study assesses how the discourse of the dichotomy between women and men, “equality between women and men” in Korean policies and ‘government- initiated network’ facilitating use of Korean ODA for Korean interests that conceive gender essentialism in ODA projects for gender equality according to the discursive dynamics in gender equality politics (Lombardo et al. 2009)⁵⁸.

The discourse is a subject to dispute, with different scholarly traditions that represent different definitions of the term (Bucholtz, 2003⁵⁹). Studying the

⁵⁸ Emanuela Lombardo, Petra Meier and Mieke Verloo. 2010. “Discursive Dynamics in Gender Equality Politics.” *European Journal of Women’s Studies*, 1350-5068; Vol. 17(2): 105-123.

⁵⁹ Mary Bucholtz. 2003. *Theories of Discourse as Theories of Gender: Discourse Analysis in Language and Gender Studies*. Theories of Discourse as Theories of Gender: Discourse Analysis in

discursive process of gender equality in policies is important in assessing how policies for gender equality were addressed and what values they conceived, because gender equality can be understood by more than one perspective, so policies for gender equality like gender mainstreaming can be differently addressed by actors of the policies (Lombardo et al, 2006)⁶⁰.

According to Doly (2005), gender mainstreaming tends to be used for other goals as “a symbol of modernity,” not representing a discourse of gender equality. If a society has not addressed gender inequality in fundamental approaches to challenge gender, the society’s gender mainstreaming could be not focusing on pursuing gender equality as their acceptability of gender inequality has its own limits⁶¹.

Korean policies for gender equality including gender mainstreaming of both domestic policies and ODA policies were criticized that they can’t tackle socially constructed gender norms forming gender inequality.

In terms of domestic policies, Kim (2004) criticized Korean policies of care work for not fundamentally changing gender inequality of care work as the work was not considered as a gender issue.⁶² and Hwang (2018) argued that Korea consistently dominated fertile women with a gender-blindly perspective since the 1960s⁶³.

Language and Gender Studies. In *The Handbook of Language and Gender*. UC Santa Barbara.

⁶⁰ Emanuela Lombardo and Petra Meier, 2006, "Gender Mainstreaming In the EU." *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13, No. 2: 432-456.

⁶¹ Mary Daly. 2005. “Gender Mainstreaming in Theory and Practice”. *Social Politics* 12 (3): 433-450.

⁶² Hye-Kyung Kim. 2004. “A Study on the Feminist Disputes on “the Payments for Care Policy.” *Journal of Korean Women's Studies* 20(2): 75-104.

⁶³ 황진태. 2018. 「발전주의 국가 한국의 가임여성 통치전략에 대한 페미니스트 역사지리적 고찰」. 『문화역사지리』 제30권 제1호. pp. 78-96.

Gender mainstreaming for Koreans also failed integrating gender equality into gender mainstreaming as the meaning of gender equality was not well understood by them (Lee. 2018)⁶⁴. Likewise, Korean ODA for gender equality was criticized that it was gender blind (not gender-sensitive) as mentioned the above (Kim and Choi. 2013⁶⁵; Kim and Shim. 2018⁶⁶).

As mentioned in the previous studies above, domestic politics can't be separable from foreign policies like ODA policies for gender equality and the hegemonic discourse of gender equality can be changed or fixed into a favorable meaning of gender equality to government's agendas. Therefore, studying the discourse of gender equality is necessary for pondering how to address gender inequality in policies.

Lombardo et al (2010) suggested the four processes which are used to shape the meaning of gender equality in the process of making policies for gender equality. They are fixing a meaning of gender equality; shrinking gender equality; stretching gender equality and bending it to some other goal⁶⁷.

In terms of the four process in Korea, "fixing" was used to fix gender equality into "equality between women and men" against transformative gender equality⁶⁸;

⁶⁴ 이은아. 2018. 「 행정관료조직과 성 주류화의 정치: 성별영향분석평가를 중심으로 」. 『젠더와 문화』 제11권 제2호. pp. 157-194.

⁶⁵ Kyunghye Kim and Hyejin Choi. 2013. "Developmental Discourse and Transformative Gender Mainstreaming? : The Case of ODA Training Program in Korea." *Korean Political Science Review* 47(3): 169-189.

⁶⁶ Eun Kyung Kim and Yehrhee Shim. 2018. "A Critical Analysis of South Korea's ODA Projects for Gender Equality." *Asian Women*. Vol. 34, No. 3: 119-147.

⁶⁷ Emanuela Lombardo, Petra Meier and Mieke Verloo. 2010. "Discursive Dynamics in Gender Equality Politics-What about 'Feminist Taboos'?" *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 1350-5068; Vol. 17(2): 108-117.

⁶⁸ Jeong-Mi Yoo. 2012. "Discourse Analysis on the Affirmative Action in the Employment

“shrinking” was used to minimize ‘gender equality’ into ‘the female issues (Huh, 2010)⁶⁹; “stretching” is needed to address gender issues with multiple social contexts according to intersectionality not by simple dichotomy between men and women. but the dichotomy was maintained (Bae, 2016⁷⁰). Plus, “bending” was for focusing on ‘economic growth’ or ‘low birth rate’ rather than gender equality by encompassing gender equality with other goals (Yoo, 2012⁷¹; Kim, 2004⁷²).

Sector: Gender Equality Policy and the Twisted Phenomena of Equality Politics.” *Journal of Korean Women's Studies* 28(2): 209-223.

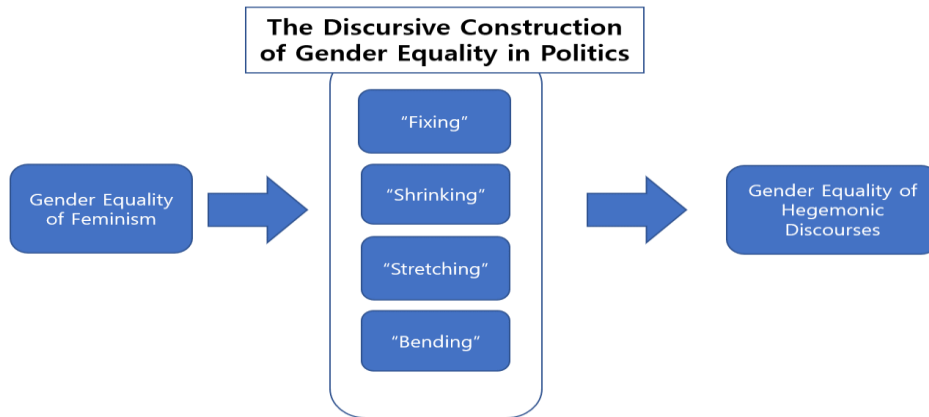
⁶⁹ Ra-Keum Huh. 2010. “Re-conceptualization of ‘Affirmative Action’ for a Transformative Strategy of Gender mainstreaming.” *Journal of Korean Women's Studies* 26(2): 99-125.

⁷⁰ Eun-Kyung Bae. 2016 “Gender Policy Paradigm and Construction of the Meaning of the ‘Gender Perspective’: Theoretical Review of the History of Policy in South Korea.” *Journal of Korean Women's Studies* 32(1): 1-45.

⁷¹ Jeong-Mi Yoo. 2012. “Discourse Analysis on the Affirmative Action in the Employment Sector: Gender Equality Policy and the Twisted Phenomena of Equality Politics.” *Journal of Korean Women's Studies* 28(2): 204-209.

⁷² Hye-Kyung Kim. 2004. “A Study on the Feminist Disputes on “the Payments for Care” Policy.” *Journal of Korean Women's Studies* 20(2): 75-10.

Figure 2 The Discursive Construction of Gender Equality in Politics by Lombardo et al (2010)



Korean policy documents are examined in this study by the approach to discursive construction with mentioned key words of de-gendering by Lombardo et al (2009) that correspond to the words of de-gendering of Canadian ODA found by Tissen and Carrier (2015).

The words mentioned by Lombardo et al (2010)⁷³ and Tissen and Carrier (2015)⁷⁴ all represent de-gendering of “gender equality” and Canadian ODA adopted the word, “equality between women and men”(Yang-sung-pyung-deung) that is exactly what Korean ODA policy documents also adopted to translate “gender equality” into Korean (The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and The Ministry of Economy and Finance,

⁷³ Emanuela Lombardo, Petra Meier and Mieke Verloo. 2010. “Discursive Dynamics in Gender Equality Politics-What about ‘Feminist Taboos’?” *European Journal of Women’s Studies*, 1350-5068; Vol. 17(2): 108–117.

⁷⁴ Rebecca Tiessen and Krystel Carrier. 2015. “The Erasure of “Gender” in Canadian Foreign Policy under the Harper Conservatives: the Significance of the Discursive Shift from “Gender Equality” to “Equality between Women and Men.” *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 21:2: 95-111.

2010)⁷⁵. According to the findings by Tissen and Carrier de-gendering in ODA was implemented with using the word, “equality between women and men” instead of “gender equality.” Therefore, the de-gendered words of Canadian ODA for gender equality found by Tissen and Carrier could be related to de-gendered words in Korean ODA policies.

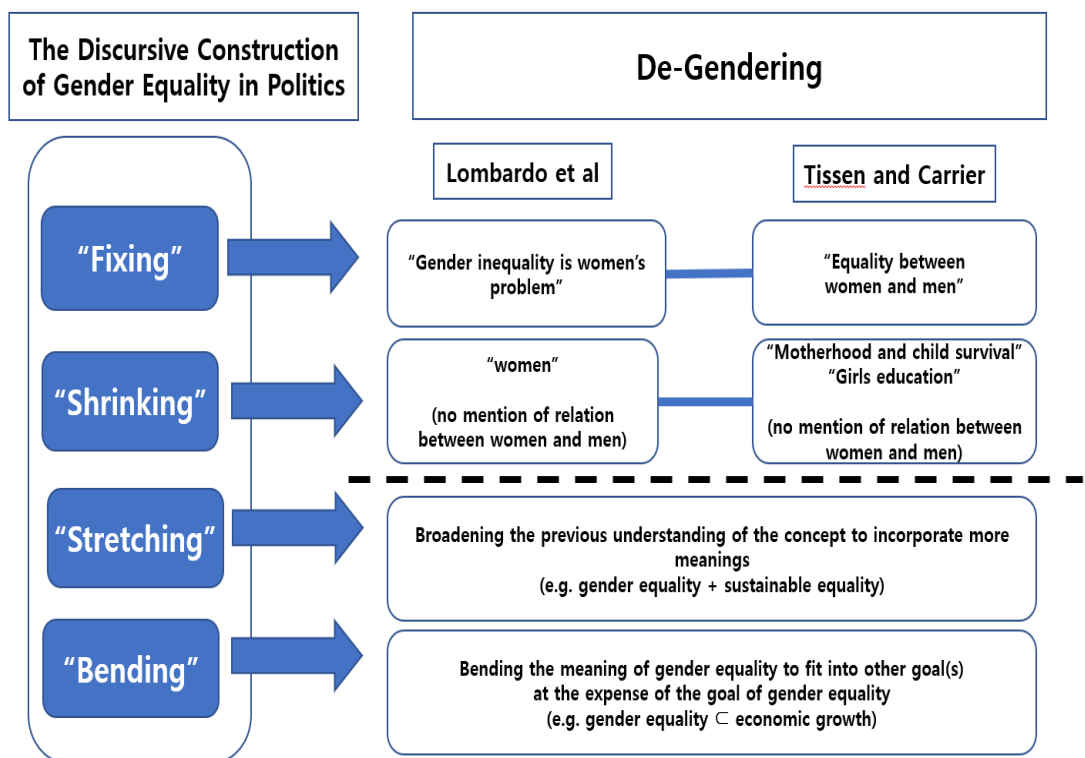
In terms of “fixing” and “shrinking,” the words found by Lombardo et al (2010) correspond with the suggested words by Tissen and Carrier as the dichotomy between women and men is a “fixing” of gender equality into a meaning and also “shrinking” gender inequality into a prejudiced notion rooted from gender essentialism.

“Stretching” and “bending” need to be assessed by observing the changes of political agendas, because major political agendas change when a new government decides to be committed to new agendas. Korean government can affect ODA policies for gender equality by means of the government-initiated network. “Stretching” and “bending” could be used to transform existing gender relations maintaining gender inequality as long as the processes concern 1) the role of elites and other groups of actors in processes of gender change, 2) the possibility of overcoming patriarchy, and 3) incremental changes of existing gender relations, but also the processes could be used to preserve gender relations by bypassing sensitive gender issues.

⁷⁵ 대한민국 외교부, 기획재정부. 2010. 「분야별 국제개발협력 기본계획(안) (2011~2015년)」. 『제 8차 국제개발협력위원회 의결안건』.제8-1호. pp.37-74.

Lastly, how much Korean ODA projects for gender equality were gender sensitive has been examined by the commons between Korean domestic policies for gender equality between gender essentialism as the criteria. The commons are, as mentioned the above, Firstly, seeing women as the vulnerable; Second, women being integrated into labor not considering gender issues (untapped resources). Third, the responsibility of care work was being only imposed on women. Fourth, women being deemed as one group without considering differences between them.

Figure 3 The Process of De-gendering in Policies



3.2. Research Methodology

The assessment of the process of constructing policies of gender equality by the approach of Lombardo et al. are examined by studying policy documents of each government from Lee Myung-bak's administration to Moon Jae-in's administration that is from joining the OECD DAC to the present time.

Tissen and Carrier (2015) argued that the identity of donors is significantly influential on ODA policies in their study and the conservative party was inclined to be gender blind.

However, ODA for gender equality by Netherland and Denmark which are known as feminism friendly was not successful in tackling gender norms of inequality (Eichey, 2001⁷⁶; Holvoet, 2012⁷⁷). According to Hwang (2018), Korea consistently dominated fertile women with a gender-blindly perspective since the 1960s regardless of the changes of the government ⁷⁸. Based on the finding, this study assumes that Korean policies have been gender blind all the time regardless of changes of the government by presidential elections.

In order to find out if this assumption is true or not, the assessment of “fixing” and “shrinking” of the dichotomy between women and men is addressed on each

⁷⁶ Lisa Ann Richey 2001. “In Search of Feminist Foreign Policy: Gender, Development and Danish State Identity.” *Cooperation and Conflict*, 36 (2): 177–212.

⁷⁷ Nathalie Holvoet. 2012. “Changing Aid Policies through a Gender Lens: an International Perspective and the Case of the Dutch Development Cooperation.” *Journal of International Women's Studies*. volume 13, Issue 3:1-16.

⁷⁸ 황진태. 2018. 「발전주의 국가 한국의 가임여성 통치전략에 대한 페미니스트 역사지리적 고찰」. 『문화역사지리』 제30권 제1호. pp. 78-96.

administration by adopted words for this study which represent gender essentialism.

In terms of “stretching” and “bending”, changing political agendas based on national interests of Korea could make changes in the way of “stretching” and “bending” of the meaning of gender equality for promoting the government’s policies regardless of transforming gender relations. Therefore, what kind of policies were used to stretch or bend the gender equality for transforming gender norms in order to promote the government’s policies is assessed in this study.

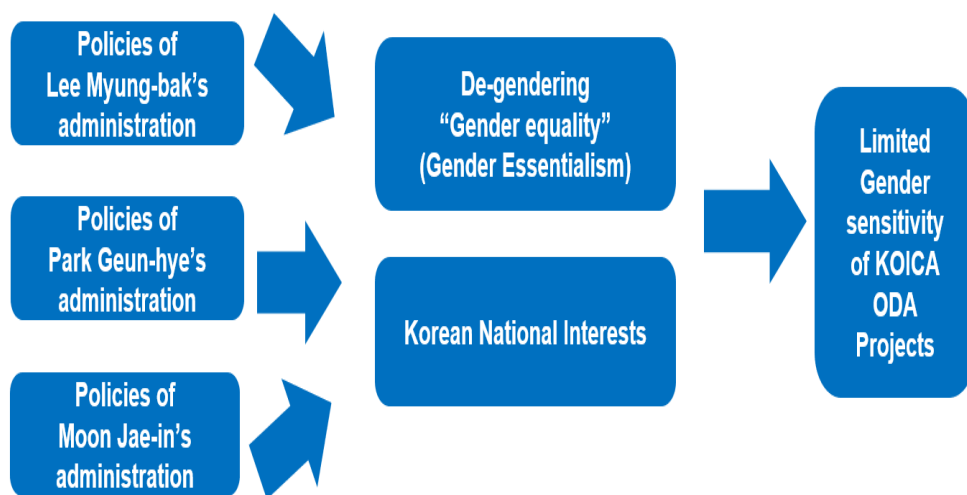
The targeted policy documents are “the 100 major agendas” of each administration and other documents concern presidents’ speeches related to plans of ODA, because they are mentioned as the root of policies on the policy papers by CIDC (Committee of International Development Cooperation). Plus, legal articles related to ODA are also examined. The documents of yearly and comprehensive plans of CIDC are also studied to understand policies for ODA affected by the government’s agendas. Additionally, news articles about the government’s agendas are also studied.

In terms of strategies, Country Partnership Strategy (CPS); and research papers of the KOICA (Korea International Cooperation Agency) are also studied. The CPSs are written in accordance with policies and KOICA would comply with CIDC’s policies which were built with the MOFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)’s, MOGEF (Ministry of Gender Equality and Family)’s and the MOEF (Ministry of Economy and Finance)’s. Accordingly, the CPS and KOICA papers are valuable to measure how much gender essentialism of the government is prevalent in strategies.

The assessed KOICA’s projects are the promoted projects by each administration.

Korean governments had major concepts of ODA in each term that were relevant with gender issues to some extent. The documents of preliminary feasibility study, basic design study and evaluation study were used for this study.

Figure 4 The Framework of Comparison of Constructing ODA Policies for Gender Equality



IV. Gender Blind Policies by LEE Myung-bak's Administration and ODA for Global Korea

4.1. The Discourse of Gender Equality in Korean Policies until Lee Myung-bak's Administration

In September 1995, the Beijing Declaration and its Platform for Action was adopted by the United Nations and the documents included clauses that underpin gender mainstreaming for transformative approaches to gender norms for gender equality. The clause 26 states “Promote women’s economic independence, including employment, and eradicate the persistent and increasing burden of poverty on women *by addressing the structural causes.....* ” and the clause 179 (e) says “.....*transform gender-prescribed roles* within the productive process and enable women to move out of low-paying jobs.⁷⁹”

Since the Platform was adopted, South Korea had to comply with the clauses to challenge gender inequality with examining structures of gender, relations between men and women with a gender perspective and transforming unequal gender-prescribed roles. However, the discourse of gender equality in Korean policies stayed in fixing gender equality into “equality between women and men” that is rooted from

⁷⁹ United Nations, and World Conference on Women. 1996. The Beijing Declaration and the Platform for Action: Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China. New York: Dept. of Public Information, United Nations:4-15

the dichotomy between men and women and shrinking into “motherhood and child survival.”

In terms of fixing gender equality into “equality between women and men,” “framework act on women’s development” was enforced until it was replaced with “framework on gender equality” in 2015⁸⁰. The framework was enforced from 1996 after the Beijing Platform was adopted. Korean government promoted “the 10 missions for promoting women’s social participation” as a follow-up measure of the Platform⁸¹ and to enact the framework act on women’s development was a part of the missions.

Therefore, how much the framework corresponded to the clauses of transforming gender roles causing gender inequality is significant for examining the discourse of gender equality in the framework.

The framework act on women’s development conceived the dichotomy between women and men and the discourse was sustained in Lee’s administration. The framework pursued 1) promotion of “equality between women and men”; 2) women’s participation in social activities; and 3) improvement of women’s welfare etc. There was no consideration of “gender” or gender roles or relations between men and women⁸².

⁸⁰ 국가법령정보센터. 여성발전기본법.

<http://www.law.go.kr/LSW//lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=908&ancYd=19951230&ancNo=05136&efYd=19960701&nwJoYnInfo=N&efGubun=Y&chrClsCd=010202#0000> (accessed on 22 April 2019)

⁸¹ 대한민국 행정안전부 국가기록원. 유엔세계여성대회 참가.

<http://www.archives.go.kr/next/search/listSubjectDescription.do?id=009351>
(accessed on 24 April 2019)

⁸² Ibid.

Shin (2012) mentioned the law it suggested the orientation of “equality between women and men (yang-sung-pyeong-deung)” and practical gender equality was impossible to be realized with it as it lacks consideration of feminine perspectives about problems of women⁸³. The lack of feminine perspectives tends to meet a focus on women’s difference from men by a male perspective.

Cho (2002) said the framework and other Korean policies for women had missions for “equality between women and men” objectifying women as the vulnerable recipients were main policies for women. They lacked gender sensitive perspectives through an approach based on welfarism that is underpinned by assumptions that women are passive recipients; motherhood is the most significant part of women; and childcare is the role of women⁸⁴.

Han (2001) proposed feminist scholars’ criticisms on welfare policies regarding women as housekeepers because of their biological features. In her paper, such policies are deemed to induce married women to rely on husbands’ income, so men’s dominance can be maintained by arguments by Williams and Fraser⁸⁵. Therefore, the focus on just “sex” or the dichotomy between women and men based on biological differences has noticeable limitations to overcome discrimination against women. As to shrinking, “gender” was shrunk into “women” through the gap between a

⁸³ 신옥주. 2012. 「실질적 성평등 실현의 관점에서 살펴본 이명박 정부 성평등정책 평가 및 제언」. 『민주법학』 제50호. pp. 245-248.

⁸⁴ 조우철. 2002. 「여성정책의 영역에 관한 연구」. 『한국행정학회 학술발표논문집』 Vol. 2002 No.6. pp. 765-779.

⁸⁵ 한인숙. 2000. 「포스트모더니즘, 복지정책 그리고 여성」. 『한국행정학회』 제 34권 제 4 호. pp. 1-18.

Korean word, “*sung*” that is used for both “sex” or/and “gender”, and the word, “gender”. In Korean version of the framework, the article 8 says the gender-based discrimination improvement committee will be established to correct gender-based discrimination, but the beneficiary mentioned in the article was just “women (yeo-sung)”, which insinuates victims of gender-based discrimination are just women.

According to Lee and Kim (2012) claimed that Korean policies for women didn’t consider gender as they focused on “women.” Gender inequality can be challenged as gender roles and relations between men and women are equally reconstructed, but Korean policies for gender equality invested in “women” instead of “gender equality”, considered women as one entity and unequal gender roles were not challenged⁸⁶.

At the 298th committee of women and family of the 18th Korean national assembly in March 2011 when Lee Myung-bak was the president of Korea, a congresswoman, Shin, nak-kyun suggested to change “framework act on women’s development” into “the law of gender equality (sung-pyung-deung)” not to confine gender inequality issues into women’s issues, but this try did not succeed⁸⁷⁸⁸.

At the committee, the minister of MOGEF (the ministry of gender equality and family) mentioned she will strive take the initiative of “women” issues in terms of ODA business⁸⁹ and the article 27 of women development law stated that Korea and

⁸⁶ 이재경, 김경희. 2012. 「여성주의 정책 패러다임 모색과 ‘성평등’」. 『한국여성학』 28(3) pp. 1-33.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ 대한민국국회. 2011. 「18대 국회 298회 1차 여성가족위원회 의사록」. pp.15-47.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.12.

local governments must support women's activities for enhancement of international cooperation⁹⁰. Therefore, the influence of this law could extend to international cooperation including ODA.

In terms of policies for domestic gender issues, according to Kim (2011), gender equality issues were less addressed by Lee's administration as policies related to gender issues were narrowed into "women's economic activities" like employment of women⁹¹. Ahn (2015)'s analysis on the changes of policies by the ministries of MOGEF also propose that the ministries of MOGEF during Lee's government focused on employment of women more than other issues⁹².

During the tenure, the policies for women and gender equality by the MOGEF were criticized due to the lack of understanding issues of gender inequality. Kwon's (2008) paper assessing "the implementation plan of political agendas related to women" by the Lee's MOGEF stated criticisms of the plan. She argued that the MOGEF does not meet the needs of women well, specific plans for developing gender mainstreaming and efforts for social understanding gender equality were not addressed⁹³.

⁹⁰ 국가법령정보센터. 여성발전기본법.

<http://www.law.go.kr/LSW/lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=908&ancYd=19951230&ancNo=05136&efYd=19960701&nwJoYnInfo=N&efGubun=Y&chrClsCd=010202#0000> (accessed on 22 April 2019)

⁹¹ 김학실. 2011. 「 여성정책변동과 연구경향 분석: 네트워크텍스트 분석방법」. 『 한국행정학회 학술발표논문집』 pp. 1-22.

⁹² 안혜원. 2015. 「 젠더 위기극복 측면에서 여성부장관의 정책 변화 추이 분석-노무현 정부와 이명박 정부의 차이를 중심으로 -」. 『 한국위기관리논집』. 제 11권 제 1호. pp. 1-22.

⁹³ 권미혁. 2008. 「 국정과제 실천계획'을 통해 본 여성부의 여성정책 평가」. 『 한국여성민우회』 pp. 13-20.

The policies for women by Lee's administration brought criticisms because the substantive equality of gender was not considered. As mentioned by Kwon, how to develop gender mainstreaming was not discussed and an approach of nationalism to women which was to control women's bodies in terms of reproduction was not properly changed as solutions to low birth rate were not unified. Furthermore, the framework act on women's development had limitations to achieve gender equality (Shin, 2012)⁹⁴.

The framework act declared the "equality between women and men," but compulsory instructions for more promotion were not suggested and the perspective of women on gender issues were not applied to the act⁹⁵. These found criticisms of the government's policies suggest that transforming gender norms were rarely progressed during the tenure.

⁹⁴ 신옥주. 2012. 「실질적 성평등 실현의 관점에서 살펴본 이명박 정부 성평등 정책 평가 및 제언」. 『민주법학』 제 50호. pp. 220-265.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

4.2. The Discourse Dynamics of Gender Equality in the Policies by Lee Myung-bak Administration Related to ODA

According to the framework act on women's development⁹⁶, Lee's administration declared that the government would achieve "equality between women and men" at the level of developed countries, so the government "fixed" gender equality as "equality between women and men" again which was rendered as the discourse of gender equality was aligned with the framework act on women's development. According to the 100 political agendas, mission 19 of strategy 4 was "to make Korea a safe country for women and children" and the detailed supports stated under the mission were "provision of care centers for children" and "support for sexually victimized women."⁹⁷

There was no mention of how to help "men's" security issues or male victims of sexual violence at all. Besides, how to assist "women" to participate in social activities was written, but unequal "gender relations" or "gender" was not addressed. "Shrinking" "gender" into "women" was rendered that way⁹⁸.

Additionally, Lee's administration put "low carbon and green growth" as it's one of the keynote agendas. The green growth initiative is relatively not relevant with

⁹⁶ 국가법령정보센터. 여성발전기본법.

<http://www.law.go.kr/LSW//lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=908&ancYd=19951230&ancNo=05136&efYd=19960701&nwJoYnInfo=N&efGubun=Y&chrClsCd=010202#0000> (accessed on 22 April 2019)

⁹⁷ 국무총리실 문화체육관광부. 2008. 『이명박 정부 100대 과제』 (서울: 청와대). pp. 1-57.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

gender issues like policies directly dealing with gender issues, but it indirectly affected KOICA's ODA projects for gender equality. In terms of policies of "green growth," the 100 political agendas had strategy 7, "create new jobs by green growth"; the mission 79 of strategy 16 was "to develop green technology."⁹⁹

Plus, president Lee made speeches including contents like launching the EACP (East Asia Climate Partnership) for green growth in 2008 at G8 Hokkaido Toyako summit 2008¹⁰⁰, assisting developing countries in terms of "green growth" by Korean experience and technology of it at the 66th general assembly of the United Nations in 2011¹⁰¹. Based on the agendas of the government, "green growth" could be regarded as one of the major agendas during Lee's administration. How it affected strategies and projects of ODA for gender equality are addressed in next two chapters.

As another major agenda in the tenure, the administration aimed for achieving a reputation as a developed country by the new village movement (Saemaul Undong) of Korea and support for mother and child health of Korean ODA model. Strategy 15 was "to nurture decent human resources on a global scale." The mission 96, "to make a national brand on a global scale" and the mission 100, "to achieve equality between women and men on a global scale." Lee's government explicitly stated the

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ 행정안전부 대통령기록연구실. 동아시아 기후포럼 축사.

http://pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp?spMode=view&artid=1330336&catid=c_pa02062 (accessed on 26 April 2019).

¹⁰¹ 외교부. 이명박 대통령, 제66차 유엔총회 기조연설.

http://www.mofa.go.kr/www/brd/m_3874/view.do?seq=335811&srchFr=&srchTo=&srchWord=&srchTp=&multi_itm_seq=0&itm_seq_1=0&itm_seq_2=0&company_cd=&company_nm (accessed on 26 April 2019).

importance of national leverage and the government's pursuit of a reputation as a developed country named "Global Korea." (Office for Government Policy coordination-Prime Minister's Secretariat, 2008¹⁰²; The Blue House, 2009¹⁰³).

The pursuit of a reputation as a developed country by Korean government "bent" "gender equality" to adjust it fit into strategies for establishing the reputation as "Global Korea." Lombardo et al (2010) proposed that "bending" occurs when the meaning of gender equality is adjusted to induce it to fit another goal rather than gender equality itself¹⁰⁴. Gender equality is established with transformation of prescribed gender roles sustaining gender inequality, but "transforming gender roles" was "bent" to fit in Korean previous policies for "women" that corresponded to "the Comprehensive ODA Improvement Plan" for improving Korean national brand¹⁰⁵.

Lee's government announced the mission 88, "be determined to solve global problems" that includes to join the OECD DAC¹⁰⁶. The MOFA and the MOEF which plan five year basic plans and yearly ODA plans for implementation of ODA by KOICA and EDCF¹⁰⁷ also officially confirmed their opinions that they will comply with the government's political agendas to make Korea "a mature global country

¹⁰² 국무총리실 문화체육관광부. 2008. 『이명박 정부 100대 과제』 (서울: 청와대). pp. 1-57.

¹⁰³ 청와대. 2009, 『성숙한 세계국가: 이명박 정부 외교안보의 비전과 전략』 (서울: 청와대). pp. 32.

¹⁰⁴ Emanuela Lombardo, Petra Meier and Mieke Verloo. 2010. "Discursive Dynamics in Gender Equality Politics." *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 1350-5068; Vol. 17(2): 105-123.

¹⁰⁵ 국제개발협력위원회. 2012. 『한국형 ODA 모델 추진방안[안]』. pp.1-27.

¹⁰⁶ 국무총리실 문화체육관광부. 2008. 『이명박 정부 100대 과제』 (서울: 청와대). pp. 1-57.

¹⁰⁷ 국무조정실 개발협력정책관실. ODA 추진체계.
http://www.odakorea.go.kr/ODAPage_2018/cate02/L01_S02_01.jsp (accessed on 27 April 2019)

(Global Korea)”, and “expansion of contribution diplomacy¹⁰⁸.” The government pursued comprehensive diplomacy for national interests with contribution diplomacy to be responsible of global issues.

From 2008 until when South Korea finally joined the OECD DAC, the MOFA, the MOEF and Korean Committee for International Development Cooperation (CIDA) repeatedly promoted their plan for changing Korean ODA. Those efforts were for Korea to be qualified to join the OECD DAC as “a mature global country (Global Korea) (MOFA,2008¹⁰⁹ ; MOEF, 2008¹¹⁰)” with considering how to apply recommendations by the OECD DAC. As soon as Korea was accepted to join the OECD DAC, CIDC suggested the Comprehensive ODA Improvement Plan that KOICA was assigned to make it to institute the “Korean ODA model” in accordance with global norms (CIDC et al, 2009¹¹¹).

According to the Comprehensive ODA Improvement Plan, the basic orientation of Korean international development assistance has three values, “hope for recipient countries”; “a good example for the international community” pursuing universal values of the community; and “pride for Korean citizens” that is connected to Korean reputation. These values explicitly show Korean ODA is used not only for developing countries, but also for complying with the rules of international

¹⁰⁸ 기획재정부·외교통상부. 2008. 『중기 ODA 확대 계획』 . pp. 1-7.

¹⁰⁹ 기획재정부·외교통상부. 2008. 『OECD 개발원조위원회(DAC) 가입』 . pp. 1-12.

¹¹⁰ 국제개발협력위원회. 2009. 『ODA 선진화 추진계획(안)』 . pp. 1-9.

¹¹¹ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2009.12. 『ODA 선진화 추진계획(안)』 . pp. 1-12.

community and accomplishing a good reputation in the community¹¹².

The compliance with the international norms needs social consensus for a country about the norms. Sohn et al (2012) studied how international norms can be internalized in countries by a focus on the intra-country coherence: consistency between aid and non-aid policies of a single donor. According to the study, the social consensus on the responsibility of international development assistance for developing countries could significantly affect internalization of international norms (Shon and Moon, 2012¹¹³).

The social consensus of promoting gender equality, especially gender mainstreaming, based on international norms passes through socialization about international norms that actually can't meet women's gender interests. True (2003) proposed that gender mainstreaming was promoted by the transnational networking among women's movements¹¹⁴ and Hwang (2011) mentioned that gender mainstreaming as an international norm was carried by moral causes of the movements¹¹⁵. However, the socialization of gender norms for gender equality would be shy of meeting essential criteria of promoting gender equality.

Kandiyoti (1991) mentioned that the women's interests about gender could be used

¹¹² 국무총리실, 기획재정부 및 관계부처 합동. 2010.10. 『국제개발협력 선진화 방안』. pp. 1-12.

¹¹³ 손혁상, 문경연. 2012. 「 국제규범의 내재화와 정치 환경: 스웨덴·독일의 ‘개발을 위한 정책일관성(PCD)’ 도입 사례를 중심으로」. 『 세계지역연구논총』 제 30집 1호. pp. 7-38.

¹¹⁴ Jacqui True. 2003. “Mainstreaming Gender in Global Public Policy.” *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 5:3: 368-396.

¹¹⁵ 황영주 2011. 「 국제규범으로서 젠더 주류화(gender mainstreaming)의 기원과 확산」. 『 국제지역연구』 제 15권 제2호. pp. 7-38.

in politics as a symbol of modernity for a country by nationalist movements¹¹⁶. According to Chung (2012), promotion of gender mainstreaming depends on how it can be used for economic efficiency and this political tendency aggravates the inequality as gender mainstreaming is addressed in just economic areas.

Even if gender mainstreaming is applied in political areas, bureaucratic approaches without feminism norms focus on just distribution of resources without transforming gender norms¹¹⁷. Ma (2007) suggested that Korean gender mainstreaming concentrated on “difference between women and men” rather than “power relation between women and men” that needs to be studied to transform gender norms facilitating gender inequality¹¹⁸.

Gender is an epistemology that concerns how principles and rules are constructed, how social phenomena can be known and how knowledge can be rendered (Wickramasinghe, 2006)¹¹⁹. Therefore, Korean bureaucratic approaches without feminism could not transform gender relations as they target not causes of gender inequality but the phenomena themselves, which is continued to the discourse of gender equality of Korean ODA policies in the Comprehensive ODA Improvement Plan.

¹¹⁶ Deniz Kandiyoti. 1991. “Identity and its Discontents: Women and the Nation.” *Journal of International Studies*. vol.20. No.3: 429-443.

¹¹⁷ 정인경. 2012. 「젠더주류화와 여성의 시민권」. 『한국정치학회보』 제 46집 제4호. pp. 53-69.

¹¹⁸ 마경희. 2007. 「성 주류화(gender mainstreaming)에 대한 비판적 성찰-여성정책의 새로운 패러다임인가? 함정인가?」. 『한국여성학』 23(1). pp. 39-67.

¹¹⁹ Maithree Wickramasinghe. 2006. “An Epistemology of Gender — An Aspect of Being as a Way of Knowing.” *Women's Studies International Forum* 29: 606–611.

The plan “bent” gender equality to make it fit into the Korean ODA model. As the plan pursued a Korean style ODA model that is different from other donor’s aid and harbor Korean development experience, knowledge and sentiment (Office for Government Policy Coordination-Prime Minister’s Secretariat et al, 2010)¹²⁰. Such efforts were identified with trying application of Korean development policies to Korean ODA with the “new village movement,” “green growth,” and “support for mother and child health.”

In 2010, CIDA for ODA evaluation mentioned that the new village movement was appropriate for “environment” and “women,” cross-cutting issues (CIDC, 2011¹²¹). In 2011, the document of CIDC elaborating Korean ODA model stated that the movement is useful for “women” again as it integrates women into the movement (CIDC, 2011¹²²). Plus, integrating “women” into “green growth” by employing women for “green growth” was also considered in the paper of the Korean ODA model (CIDC, 2012¹²³).

Integration of women into projects/programs for other goals can’t be necessarily bad for gender equality. Women’s participation in economic and local activities would contribute to increase of women’s income and social the participation by women can make women earn credit from their community or society. However,

¹²⁰ 국무총리실, 기획재정부 및 관계부처 합동. 2010.10. 『국제개발협력 선진화 방안 <요약본>』 . pp. 1-30.

¹²¹ 국제개발협력 평가소위원회. 2010.12. 『‘10년 국제개발협력 소위평가 결과』 . pp. 7.

¹²² 국제개발협력위원회. 2011.08. 『국제개발협력(ODA 사업모델 -새마을운동, 직업훈련, 모자보건-』 pp. 1-23.

¹²³ 국제개발협력위원회. 2012.09. 『한국형 ODA 모델 추진방안(안)』 . pp. 25.

gender inequality is facilitated by male-biased norms like the patriarchy and the norms are hardly changed by women's join in men's community. That's why transforming gender norms by gender mainstreaming was demanded.

Oh (2014) and Jang (2007) studied how women's participation in the new village movement (Saemaul Undong) affected the women who were leaders of the movement by surveys, interview, or literature review. The interviewed participants mostly expressed satisfaction with the movement and their participation. They also succeeded in playing their parts in the movement and most of them answered that discrimination against women was extinguished¹²⁴.

Nevertheless, achievement of gender equality by the movement was limited. The female leaders could be accepted as long as they don't counter with traditions unfavorable to women and the women also did not expect their roles could be beyond the socially limited positions and they had believed they had responsibility of following national orders, so improving women's social status was not their priority¹²⁵. Plus, even though they tried to measure up to the leader role not challenging traditions, they were obstructed by people's blames for women's participation in such activities¹²⁶.

In short, the movement contributed to gender equality as "equal opportunities," but

¹²⁴ 오유석. 2014. 「 여성 새마을지도자의 눈으로 남녀 동수의 새마을운동 경험 읽기」. 『구술사연구』 제5권 2호. pp. 119-145.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ 장미경. 2007. 「개발국가 시기, 새마을운동 부녀 지도자의 정체성의 정치 -부녀 지도자의 성공사례, 수기를 중심으로-」. 『한국사회학회사회학대회 논문집』 전기사회학대회 한국사회학 50년 정리와 전망. pp. 175-190.

an approach about “gender” was hardly included in the movement. “Bending” “gender equality” “fixed” into “equality between women and men” by the dichotomy between men and women and “shrinking” “gender” into “women” still contribute to women’s empowerment to some extent. However, those approaches don’t improve the level of women’s authority connected to improvement of gender equality. Nevertheless, the ODA of the movement was integrated in the Korean ODA model with a mention that it could contribute “gender equality” (CIDC et al, 2011¹²⁷).

“The green growth” was also mentioned as a strength of Korean development that could be utilized for ODA strategies in the document of Korean ODA model (CIDC, 2012¹²⁸). In the cross-cutting issue part, “green growth” and “women” were included together and training women as capable workers in the green growth area was mentioned, so “bending” gender issues for “green growth” was insinuated.

In terms of “fixing” and “shrinking” gender equality in the Korean ODA model, the model articulated basic programs and programs for cross-cutting issues including “women” to support “women” through supports for “mother and child health” and job training. The basic programs were 1) assistance for fatherless families and 2) job training for women and the programs for women as a cross-cutting issue were 1) to prepare a system for policies for women, 2) assistance for fatherless families, 3) to nurture female farmers, 4) assistance for employment of women or starting their own

¹²⁷ 국제개발협력위원회 외 각 정부부처 2011.08. 『국제개발협력(ODA 사업모델 -새마을운동, 직업훈련, 모자보건-』 pp. 1-23.

¹²⁸ 국제개발협력위원회. 2012.09. 『한국형 ODA 모델 추진방안(안)』 . pp. 1-46.

businesses, and 5) support for female human resources in the science businesses (CIDC et al, 2012¹²⁹).

All the programs for “women” mentioned in the model were policies for “women” that were mostly for job training that is useful to join the economic areas where male norms are dominant and assistance for families that Korea has provided in the history under gender essentialism that necessarily connects women to “family.”

Transforming gender relations for gender equality can’t be rooted from the past policies conceiving gender essentialism as the gender equality can be achieved by de-constructing the past gender norms and re-constructing gender norms. Therefore, the model “bent” the meaning of gender equality into a kind affirmative actions for women had limitations to promote gender equality from the beginning.

The affirmative actions like job training for women, to prepare a system for policies for women and assistance for employment of women etc do not address unequal gender relations as the model didn’t mention “gender” at all and only “women” were the beneficiaries of the actions. Accordingly, “gender” was “shrunk” into “women” in this model again.

In conclusion, Korean ODA policies addressed gender inequality to some extent, and they could be beneficial to promote gender equality. However, the policies all were based on just equal opportunities and affirmative action, not considering unfair conditions for gender equality constructed by male-biased norms, which limited the

¹²⁹ 국제개발협력위원회 외 각 정부부처 합동. 2012.09. 『한국형 ODA 모델 추진방안』 pp. 18-26.

possibility of transforming gender norms from the beginning.

4.3. The Discourse of Gender Equality in the Strategies of ODA During Lee Myung-bak Administration

The Korean discourse of gender equality with “fixing” gender equality as “equality between women and men”, “shrinking” “gender” into “women” and “bending” gender equality into “the Korean ODA model” was continued in strategies for ODA too. The Country Partnership Strategies (CPS) are the highest ODA plans for the countries for Korean ODA¹³⁰.

During Lee’s administration, country partnership strategies for 26 Korean partner countries were executed. The strategies for the countries all elaborated diverse problems of the partner countries causing gender inequality in many sectors and the conditions including customs, traditions and cultures discriminating women were also quite stated well. However, all the plans for gender mainstreaming were just integrating “women” into social activities

Gender mainstreaming is not “integrating” “women” into social activities, but “mainstreaming” “gender” for “transforming” “prescribed gender roles” to promote

¹³⁰ 국무총리실. 2011.08. 『국제개발협력(ODA) 주요 현안』 . pp. 1-11.

gender equality. the CPSs for Sri Lanka¹³¹, the Azerbaijani Republic¹³², Ethiopia¹³³ and DR Congo¹³⁴ all the strategies mentioned that traditions, customs and norms maintain “inequality between women and men.”

Most CPSs also “fixed” “gender equality” as “equality between women and men,” so they conceived the idea to keep the society as gender relations are not intervened with by transforming gender norms, so the discourse of gender equality in the documents was also providing the same opportunities or affirmative policies for “women” in the CPSs again.

The “shrinking” of gender equality in the study was just shrinking “gender” into “women” in policies of the government. In the papers of the CPS, “shrinking” was addressed in a different way. The strategies for the Azerbaijani Republic¹³⁵, Bangladeshi¹³⁶, the Philippines¹³⁷ and Nigeria¹³⁸ mentioned that “gender” as a sectoral approach for reconsideration about “equality between women and men” and “gender” as a cross-cutting issue for ensuring the equity for women and men will be

¹³¹ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2012. 『스리랑카 국가협력전략 2012-2016』 . pp. 1-656.

¹³² 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2012. 『아제르바이잔 국가협력전략 2012-2016』 . pp. 171-233.

¹³³ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2012. 『에티오피아 국가협력전략 2012-2016』 . pp. 267-346.

¹³⁴ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2012. 『콩고민주공화국 국가협력전략 2012-2015』 . pp. 436.

¹³⁵ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2012. 『아제르바이잔 국가협력전략 2012-2016』 . pp. 171-233.

¹³⁶ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2012. 『방글라데시 국가협력전략 2012-2016』 . pp. 9-66.

¹³⁷ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2012. 『필리핀 국가협력전략 2012-2016』 . pp. 10-57.

¹³⁸ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2013. 『나이지리아 국가협력전략 2013-2015』 . pp. 10-79.

adopted.

Reconsideration of gender inequality needs to delve into what did cause gender inequality rather than fixing only the social phenomena which occurred because of the causes. Therefore, reconsideration about “gender” by a perspective of “equality between women and men” is fundamentally equal with ensuring the equity between women and men, not investigating conditions of gender inequality. Thus, “gender,” the word was used in the CPSs, but the meaning itself was “shrunk” into “women.”

Besides, most planned supports for women were job training, education, medical care based on “mother and child health” and construction of infrastructure that correspond to the planned ODA projects in the Korean ODA model, so “gender equality” was “bent” to fit in the projects of Korean ODA model in the documents of country partnership strategies.

Korean experience of development in terms of gender issues or women issues were also usually about “women empowerment” by providing the same opportunities or “affirmative action for women” by quota systems based on an idea that women and men are different.

Therefore, Korean development experience itself has flaws for realizing gender equality. Thus, strategies for gender equality from unquestioning support for Korean development experience brought “bending” gender equality to fit in projects/programs suggested in Korean ODA model documents.

The document of KOICA’s regulations of promoting gender equality and women

empowerment (KOICA, 2010¹³⁹) stated the details of elements and definitions of gender issues to plan and implement ODA for gender equality. KOICA's regulation on promoting gender equality and women empowerment elaborated the definitions and criteria of ODA for gender equality¹⁴⁰.

The regulation paper says KOICA's promoting gender equality is possessing "conditions" for men and women to entertain the equal participation and positions. Plus, "gender mainstreaming" in the regulation is explained that it also puts women's experience and consideration at the center as much as men's experience and projects for gender mainstreaming and projects targeting gender equality as the main target of the projects are also included in KOICA's strategies for gender equality. According to the contents of KOICA's own strategies (KOICA, 2011¹⁴¹), KOICA's strategies were more gender-sensitive than the policies promoted by the government and CIDC.

However, "green growth" and "new village movement" related to "equality between women and men" were also reflected on CPSs and KOICA's strategy papers. In the CPS of Azerbaijan, increase of female representatives in projects of developing water resources was mentioned as a strategy for "equality between women and men (yang-sung-pyung-deung)." It is, as mentioned earlier, "bending" gender for another goal and conceiving a "affirmative action" perspective rather than

¹³⁹ 한국국제협력단. 2010. 『성평등 증진 및 여성역량강화에 관한 규정』. pp.1-9.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid, pp. 1-11

¹⁴¹ 한국국제협력단. 2011. 『KOICA 성평등 목표 전략 (2011-2015)』. pp. 1-18.

“transforming gender norms.”

KOICA’s report to assess the present state of green ODA and promote green ODA published in 2012 also suggested multiple green ODA projects for Azerbaijan, Mongolia, Vietnam etc which could have “bent” gender for promoting green ODA (KOICA, 2012¹⁴²) as the strategies for the ODA were using gender for green ODA.

Plus, the basic plan for ODA of the new village movement written by public institutions including KOICA (2015) has almost the same plan for ODA of the new village movement mentioned in CIDC papers¹⁴³. KOICA’s regulations about ODA for gender equality elaborated specific and exemplary contents about gender equality. However, the promoted ideas about ODA by the government may have been collided with KOICA’s papers about ODA for gender equality.

¹⁴² 한국국제협력단. 2012. 『녹색 ODA 현황 분석 및 활성화 방안 연구』 . pp. 1-191.

¹⁴³ 국무총리실, 한국국제협력단 외 8기관. 2011. 『새마을 운동 ODA 사업 기본계획』 . pp. 1-13.

V. Gender Blind Policies of Park Geun-hye's Administration and ODA for Gender Equality for the Better Life for Girls

5.1 The Discourse of Gender Equality in Korean Policies until Park Geun-hye's Administration

During Lee Myung-bak's administration, the management of low birth rate of Korea by the administration represented the discourse of traditional gender relations. Lee Myung-bak declared that the nation will take more responsibility of nurturing babies and children as a presidential election pledge, but a policy to assist leave for childcare was for just mothers not for fathers. It means inequality between women and men in terms of childcare was not challenged (Yoon, 2012).¹⁴⁴

Besides, the third basic plan for policies for women (2008~2012)¹⁴⁵ revealed the priorities of the administration and how support for gender equality issues was unwillingly proceeded. The first target of policies for women during the tenure was "utilization of female labor."

It insinuates the administration had a business-friendly character. Lee's administration was known for pursuing policies advantageous to businesses (Choi,

¹⁴⁴ 윤성호. 2012. 「이명박 정부의 저출산 대응과 차기정부의 과제-아동돌봄 정책을 중심으로-」. 『한국자치행정학보』 한국자치행정학보 제 26권 제3호 pp. 183-200.

¹⁴⁵ 여성가족부. 2008. 「2008~2012 제 3차 여성정책기본계획 수정(판) . pp.28-73.

2008)¹⁴⁶ and Kim (2011) also argued that Lee's administration's characteristics was more like a capitalist developmental state, so the government paradoxically implemented market-oriented policies and opposite policies, because a developmental state necessarily pursue goals of the community including the demand for gender equality by civil societies etc (Kim, 2011)¹⁴⁷. In short, Lee's government pursued market-oriented policies, but it had to trot out supportive policies for gender equality.

According to the third basic plan for women policies¹⁴⁸, the target was “women,” not “gender” and gender equality was written as “equality between women and men (Yang-sung-pyeong-deung)” that the framework act on women's development used to indicate what gender equality meant. Therefore, signs of the dichotomy between women and men are stated in accordance with the framework. “Gender equality” was “fixed” as “equality between women and men” and “gender” was “shrunk” into “woman” again.

Park (2012) also argued that Lee's government trusted the market economy and gender mainstreaming could not be developed, because policies for women focused on mostly family issues; politicians didn't understand the necessity of policies for gender equality and women's problems were addressed superficially (Park, 2011)¹⁴⁹.

¹⁴⁶ 최창집. 2008. 「선진화의 성장전략은 박정희 개발모델 연장」. 경향신문 (2008.1.1)

¹⁴⁷ 김인영. 2011. 「이명박 정부의 본질에 관한 고찰: 신자유주의 국가인가, 발전국가의 변환인가?」. 『비교민주주의연구』 7권 2호. pp. 183-200.

¹⁴⁸ 여성가족부. 2008. 「2008~2012 제 3차 여성정책기본계획 수정(판) . pp.124-132.

¹⁴⁹ 박의경. 2012. “지속가능한 여성정책을 위한 제언: 사상과 이념에서 공약과 정책으로.” 한

During Park Geun-hye's administration, there were changed and maintained approaches to policies of gender equality in comparison with the approaches by Lee's administration. In terms of changed approaches, the name of framework act on women's development was changed.

As mentioned the above, the act was an indicator to assess how the discourse of gender equality had been maintained or changed since the act was enforced as a follow-up measure of the Beijing Platform for Action that addresses how to promote gender equality.

In the middle of Lee's administration, there were efforts to change the framework act on women's development into "the law of gender/sex equality (sung-pyung-deung)," but it failed and the framework act on women's development was sustained until July 2015 when the act was replaced with "the framework on gender equality (yang-sung-pyeong-deung: equality between women and men) (National Law Information Center, 2019¹⁵⁰)."

According to Park (2014), the law of gender equality (equality between women and men) brought four positive changes. First, it does not just address "women's development," but also "substantive equality between women and men," second, it legitimized the definition of "equality between women and men (gender equality)" as the equal treatment and participation any discrimination, third, the state is obliged

국정치연구 21권2호. pp.260-271.

¹⁵⁰ 국가법령정보센터. 양성평등기본법.

<http://www.law.go.kr/LSW//lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=908&ancYd=19951230&ancNo=05136&efYd=19960701&nwJoYnInfo=N&efGubun=Y&chrClsCd=010202#0000> (accessed on 6 May 2019)

to make efforts to realize “equality between women and men (gender equality),” fourth, all the new law articles must correspond to this law (Park, 2014)¹⁵¹.

On the other hand, the law could be criticized that actual changes of the paradigm of gender issues were had been not brought. Huh (2010) insisted that affirmative action for women based on substantive equality is actually rooted from a belief that the group of beneficiaries is less competent than the others. According to her, this action could cause feeling of reverse discrimination, not properly addressing gender mainstreaming for reconstruction of unequal gender relations (Huh, 2010¹⁵²).

The law of gender equality made accomplishments like strengthening the system for gender equality and more specifying the articles to promote gender equality including the merits of the law mentioned. However, according to Shin (2016), the law misunderstood policies for gender equality¹⁵³.

She said the law, first, could not articulated what exactly means the society that accomplished “equality between women and men (gender equality).” Second, the definition of substantive gender equality is also not clear, so it could be distorted against the cause of the law. Third, the law was criticized by women organizations, because it strengthens the dichotomy between women and men. Fourth, the law

¹⁵¹ 박선영. 2014. 「양성평등기본법의 입법의의와 과제」. 『젠더법학』. 제6권 제1호(통권 제10호). pp.27-64.

¹⁵² 허라금. 2010. 「젠더 전환적 전략을 위한 ‘적극적 조치’의 재개념화」. 『한국여성학』 26 (2). Pp. 99-125..

¹⁵³ 신경아. 2016. 「여성정책에서 성평등정책으로? 젠더정책의 오해와 이해」. 『한국여성학』 제 32권 4호. Pp. 1-39.

stated men are also beneficiaries, which spread an argument that men's demands need to be considered more rather than focus on transformation of unequal gender norms¹⁵⁴. Men's demands are also important to pursue gender equality, but mere words of men's benefit from the law without addressing problems of unequal gender relations can't contribute to realization of gender equality.

In short, Korean law for gender equality focused on women's equal opportunities until Lee's administration and it moved to the affirmative action stage, which was a restricted improvement of policies for gender equality. Just "equal opportunities" were "stretched" to cover affirmative action. It is a positive change. However, the discourse of gender equality still fell behind in the stage of international platform declared in 1995. The transformation of gender relations or gender mainstreaming was still not changed much.

In terms of gender essentialism, how childcare policies were planned and how policies for employment of women addressed unequal gender relations are useful to judge how much gender essentialism was conceived in the policies. Cho (2013)¹⁵⁵ and Yoon (2014)¹⁵⁶ found the policies for childcare and balance between work and home had failed to cope with gender inequality against women that resulted from unequal gender norms.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ 조막래. 2013. 「 박근혜 정부의 여성가족정책 평가 : 국가, 시장, 가족 역할 .」 『 한국사회복지학회』 제 32권 4호. Pp. 1-20.

¹⁵⁶ 윤홍식. 2014. 「 박근혜 정부의 가족화정책과 성, 계층 불평등의 확대 - 보수정부 6년의 가족정책을 중심으로.」 『 경제와 사회』 101. Pp.87-116.

Such low understanding of gender issues and the dichotomy between women and men were continued to the next president Park's government, too. Although the president was female, but her 100 political agendas and policies for women or gender conceived the discourse of gender essentialism. The finding implies that, even though one's "sex" is female, it does not guarantee a high degree of gender sensitivity or high understanding of gender issues.

5.2. The Discourse Dynamics of Gender Equality in the Policies by Park Geun-hye Administration Related to ODA

the 100 agendas of Park's administration and the agendas of Lee's administration are quite alike. First, the agendas of Park's administration "fixed" "gender equality" into "equality between women and men" and "shrunk" gender issues into "women's issues. Lastly, In the case of "bending," gender equality was "bent" for "employment of women."¹⁵⁷ In terms of "green growth," it could not be continuously promoted by Park's administration as the government started focusing on welfare issues according to Park's pledges (Jim, 2013¹⁵⁸; Huh, 2013¹⁵⁹) .

¹⁵⁷ 제 18대 대통령직인수위원회. 2013. 『제 18대 대통령직인수위원회 제안 박근혜정부 국정 과제』 p.1-205.

¹⁵⁸ 진상현. 2013. 「 이명박 정부 "저탄소 녹색성장" 국정기조의 경로의존성」. 『 한국행정논집』. 제 25권 제 4호. Pp. 1067-1070.

¹⁵⁹ 허용훈. 2013. 「 박근혜 정부의 복지국가의 비전과 정책과제」. 『 동북아문화연구』. 제 36집. Pp. 153-175.

In terms of “fixing” and “bending,” the agenda 68 was “expansion of employment of women and equality between women and men.” As Lee’s government followed the term, “equality between women and men,” the definition of gender equality was also adopted in the document of Park’s 100 agendas. The “equality between women and men” would correspond to “equal opportunities” or “affirmative action” for women.

The agenda 68 has the outline, “realization of a society that achieved substantive equality between women and men by promoting policies for gender equality and women’s social and economic participation.” According to Yoo’s study about substantive gender equality (2012), that kind of gender equality would denote affirmative action for women. She said the action could be beneficial to realization of gender equality, but it is necessary to make an agreement that the gender-based discrimination against women is a serious problem before the action is made¹⁶⁰.

However, the agenda 68 mentioned only “women” not “gender” or “men and policies for women of the agenda are mostly for employment of women. Gender impact assessment and gender budgeting system of gender mainstreaming were also included in the agenda, but efforts for transforming gender relations seem not promising as gender issues were mostly limited employment issues.

“Expansion of employment of women and equality between women and men” is also a “bending” for the Park’s market-oriented policies like Lee Myung-bak’s

¹⁶⁰ 유정미. 2012. 「고용분야 적극적 조치의 정책논리에 대한 담론 분석: ‘실질적’ 평등 정책과 ‘평등의 정치’의 굴절.」 『한국여성학』 제 28권 2호. Pp. 185-223.

government's policies mentioned in the document of the 100 agendas.

The second goal of Lee's agendas was "active market economy" and the strategy 6 of it was "sharp deregulations" and Park's first goal was "the creative economy of employment" and it possessed agendas for deregulations of businesses like agenda 12 (agriculture and livestock industry as a new power of economic growth), agenda 24 (improvement of national scientific technology capacities) and agenda 36 (real estate market stabilization) also aimed deregulation.

The other agendas of Park's 100 agendas related to "the creative economy" corresponded the agendas for the market economy of Lee's agendas. Therefore, Park's agendas of "creative economy" also belonged to market-oriented policies. In the case of Lee's administration, gender equality was aimed for "Global Korea", a reputation as a developed country in the international community and a market-friendly perspective was the cause of "bending" gender. On the other hand, gender equality was "bent" for market-oriented policies by Park's administration.

"Shrinking" has no difference from it of Lee's administration. "Gender" was not mentioned at all even with a similar term. The agenda 68 approached to gender issues by a word, "women (female)" for policies for employment of women and agenda 83 "safe society from gender-based violence" also focused on children and "women."

The agenda 107, "equal treatment and equal opportunities for employment in public businesses" also address low percent of female managers in public businesses by affirmative action without significant considering gender-based discrimination. Namely, gender inequality by people's gender-based discrimination was "shrunk"

into just gender inequality caused by lack of opportunities and it was addressed by guaranteeing a quota.

These mentioned political agendas focused on “lack of opportunities” in terms of employment and “special treatment” for employment and motivation of pregnancy/delivery denoted gender essentialism as women were regarded as “untapped resources” and just potential “mothers” not mentioning “customs”, “perception”, “conditions” and “unequal relations” that could represent gender inequality.

President Park’s official speech at the international stage also showed how the government would focus on women or girls’ issues. In 2014, president Park had the first speech at the 69th UN General Assembly where she said gender-based crime against women contravenes human rights and humanism whenever and wherever it happens (KTV, 2019¹⁶¹). Plus, she highlighted that gender-based violence against women in the wars is a serious problem again and declared to provide developing countries with ODA named “better life for girls¹⁶²”.

According to the speeches, president Park’s approach to women’s issues in developing countries is also rooted from gender essentialism as women were seen as one entity and the vulnerable. Assistance for women by an approach of gender essentialism is not necessarily ineffective of solving women’s problems.

¹⁶¹ 청와대 KTV 국민방송. 박근혜 대통령 유엔총회 기조연설.

http://www.ktv.go.kr/news/latest/view?content_id=491762 (accessed on 1st May 2019)

¹⁶² 한겨레. [전문] 박 대통령, 유엔 총회 기조연설.

<http://www.hani.co.kr/arti/politics/bluehouse/710620.html> (accessed on 1st May 2019).

If women or girls are given more medical care or education services than before, ODA of medical and educational supports would empower women in many ways. However, as mentioned the above, male-biased norms are usually the hegemonic mainstream of gender that women had to try to abide by they were demanded to fit into prescribed roles for women. That's why gender mainstreaming was promoted and to reconstruct gender roles for women, because women's empowerment by education and medical care is not more than integrating women in men's society.

Nevertheless, support for girls in developing countries were mostly limited in education and medical care and women at wartime were seen as just the vulnerable through gender essentialism by donors. Likewise, president Park's pledge also had ideas of gender essentialism and as the president's pledge was affected on ODA policies for gender equality. The documents of CIDA's plans elaborated how to prepare and implement the ODA projects for "better life for girls."

In terms of ODA for women at wartime, Korean strategy for humanitarian assistance in 2015 stated that "the vulnerable-children, women, and refugees" would be prioritized to assist (MOFA, 2015)¹⁶³. Carpenter (2005) explained using gender essentialism in international assistance. In the assistance of protection of civilians, "women and children" are seen to represent the innocence and the vulnerability, which is resonated by gender essentialism. As gender essentialism is misleading, the civilian immunity norm is distorted and the distortion also categorizes women into

¹⁶³ 외교부. 2015. 『우리나라의 인도적 지원 전략』 88-101.

limited agents (Carpenter, 2005¹⁶⁴).

This kind of discourse can not only put women in the role of victims but also keep men away from earning enough attention to be helped to escape from expectation to live up to a high masculinity. According to Tiessen (2015), Finland, Norway, and Switzerland have highlighted that women could have the positive and negative roles in armed conflicts, too. This perspective can help international interventions be distant from gender essentialism and cope with more diverse problems for women and men¹⁶⁵.

Gender essentialism in humanitarian assistance for women in wartime or fragile states need to be tackled for a long-term gender equality of countries or gender inequality based on ideas of gender essentialism is just always continued. For example, women in Myanmar were more exposed to gender-based violence by soldiers and man-centered social orders¹⁶⁶.

In Myanmar, there was an armed conflict between armed forces of Myanmar and non-state armed groups, and they started to negotiate since 2013. Although women's organizations demanded women's participation in peacebuilding processes, women's participation percentage at peace building conferences named "21st

¹⁶⁴ R. Charli carpenter. 2005. "Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups": Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue." *International Studies Quarterly* 49: 295-334.

¹⁶⁵ Rebecca Tiessen. 2015. "Gender Essentialism in Canadian Foreign Aid Commitments to Women, Peace, and Security." *International Journal* 2015, Vol. 70(1) : 90-94.

¹⁶⁶ Gender Equality Network, *Service Provision for Gender-Based Violence Survivors in Myanmar* (Yanggon: Gender Equality Network, 2018) p. 18.

century Panglong conferences” were only 17% (Gender Equality Network, 2018¹⁶⁷).

The strategy for Korean humanitarian assistance, nevertheless, concentrated on “children, women, and refugees,” so men’s problems were relatively overlooked in the paper. Women’s issues or demands related to gender were not specifically discussed and women were considered as one entity without addressing diverse problems of women. Addressing women and men’s demands about gender was necessary to challenge gender essentialism, but it was not considered.

Not only humanitarian assistance for women at wartime, but also ODA for “better life for girls” also regarded women and girls as the vulnerable. In May 2015, president Park promised ODA for “better life for girls” and CIDA confirmed the willingness to promote Korean ODA for it according to the comprehensive plan for ODA in 2016 in accordance with the president’s pledge. “Better life for girls” was planned to be executed from 2016 to 2020 with two hundred million dollars and this program was justified to be promoted by the president’s willingness to achieve the SDGs (CIDC et al, 2015¹⁶⁸).

The planned activities of the “better life for girls” were education, empowerment to be employed as medical workers and raising awareness of gender issues, improvement of basic household environment for reducing domestic labor and change of social/cultural customs. Mentions of changing customs against women,

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2015. 『‘16년 국제개발협력 종합시행계획(안)』 1-17.

reducing domestic labor and raising awareness of gender issues had been hardly found in plans for Korean ODA.¹⁶⁹

In the analysis of developing countries of comprehensive plan for Korean ODA in 2016, girls' relatively more vulnerable positions than boys in education and in terms of access to medical services were also mentioned to highlight the importance of supporting girls. Additionally, the expansion of gender mainstreaming for supporting girls was also planned (CIDC, 2016¹⁷⁰).

However, specific plans for promoting “better life for girls” in the comprehensive plan were mostly for education, medical services, and employment. Gender mainstreaming or issues of gender were rarely included in the plans. The targets of “better life for girls” were Laos, Myanmar, Cambodia, Nepal, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Mozambique and Laos and Myanmar were pilots of the first projects of “better life for girls.”

The stages of the plan were introduction (raising awareness of gender issues for girls and development of medical environment) and expansion (comprehensive projects for girls' independence). The activities of introduction stage were women empowerment for female teachers and public officers and medical supports for girls. A gender mainstreaming for the stage was to make space for girls' exclusive use and education program. Plus, medical care for women to prosecute K-projects was also

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ 국제개발협력위원회. 2016. 『개발협력 4대 구상 이행 마스터플랜(안)』. (제 24-1호). Pp.1-17.

planned¹⁷¹.

At the expansion stage, educational infrastructure for girls and improvement of medical environment for girls' pregnancy and parturition were the keynote orientation. In mainstreaming, prioritizing girls' facilities and medical department for girls in infrastructure projects was adopted. Additionally, job training for women for positions "customized for women" were stated for planned projects¹⁷².

These mentioned projects were also could not be free from gender essentialism. Girls were just targeted as "girls" (women), so consideration of differences of girls in class, races, ages or any kind of background were not properly addressed. Plus, supports for girls or women were so restricted to education and medical issues like pregnancy and delivering babies, which was exactly the same with the Canadian ODA for women mentioned by Tiessen & Carrier (2015)¹⁷³. It just "shrunk" women's issues into "motherhood and child survival."

In terms of mainstreaming, preparing space for girls' exclusive use, program for prevention of sexual violence, and prioritizing girls' facilities and medical department for girls in infrastructure projects were planned. These projects cannot be "mainstreaming" women's perspectives, but just specially treating women because of their biological differences. Meantime, job training for women was also

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Rebecca Tiessen & Krystel Carrier. 2015. "The Erasure of "Gender" in Canadian Foreign Policy under the Harper Conservatives: the Significance of the Discursive Shift from "Gender Equality" to "Equality between Women and Men." Canadian Foreign Policy Journal, 2015 Vol. 21, No. 2: 95–111

promoted. It was integrating “women” into the labor market as the male-biased ideas were rarely addressed. It suggests “equality between women and men” was the major discourse of gender equality of ODA like the projects before Park’s tenure.

Furthermore, girl-friendly medical environment construction and medical services for mothers and children were aimed to expand for promoting “K-projects”, a Korean ODA model. Besides, “better life for girls” was categorized into a part for “global reputation.” so It literally stated that “better life for girls” would be “bent” for promoting a Korean ODA brand, “K-projects.” In conclusion, gender essentialism in Korean ODA for gender equality had been rarely changed from Lee’s administration until Park’s administration in policies (CIDC, 2016¹⁷⁴; CIDC et al, 2016¹⁷⁵).

Additionally, not only the president’s political agendas but also the limitations of SDGS about promoting gender equality are also a cause of limited transforming gender norms by ODA projects. According to Kim (2019)¹⁷⁶, the SDGs failed to move from “women” to “gender.” Unlike the MDGs (Millennium Development Goals) that adopted WID approaches, the SDGs more invested in unequal relations between women and men, adopting GAD approaches. However, the indicators of SDGs 5 (Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls) failed to move from the word, “women” to “gender.” Therefore, unquestioning compliance with international norms like the SDGS de facto allowed the Korean government not to

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ 국제개발협력위원회. 2016. 『17년 국제개발협력 종합시행계획』. (제 26호). Pp.1-26.

¹⁷⁶ 김은경. 2019. 「 국제개발 규범에서 ‘젠더’는 ‘여성’을 의미하는가: 젠더 담론의 발전 과정과 기술관료제화를 중심으로.」 『 국제개발협력연구』 제 11권 1호. Pp. 6-11.

promote more progressive means for gender equality like transforming gender norms.

5.3. The Discourse of Gender Equality in the Strategies of ODA at Park Geun-hye Administration

The country partnership strategies possessed less contents about gender issues than the strategies during Lee's administration and accepted policies of gender issues that were connected to CIDA's plans influenced by president Park's pledges.

The country partnership strategies (CPS) in president Lee's administration used "equality between women and men" instead of "gender equality" and the documents of strategies in Park's administration likewise stated gender equality with "equality between women and men," so how the government and CIDA "fix" gender equality was not changed. All the pages on which the status of "gender equality" were written in Park's administration used "equality between women and men (CIDC et al, 2016¹⁷⁷; CIDC et al, 2016¹⁷⁸, CIDC et al, 2016¹⁷⁹)."

The strategies for each country of Park's administration tried more to consider "gender sensitivity" than the previous ones. but they mentioned that the guideline for gender sensitive perspective would be applied. As for application of the guideline to gender issues of developing countries seems that Korean strategies for gender

¹⁷⁷ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2016. 『필리핀 국가협력전략』. Pp.1-36.

¹⁷⁸ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2016. 『우간다 국가협력전략』. Pp.1-31.

¹⁷⁹ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2016. 『라오스 국가협력전략』. Pp.1-30.

equality would have been improved in terms of focusing on “gender” rather than “shrinking” “gender” into just “woman (CIDC et al, 2016¹⁸⁰; CIDC et al, 2016¹⁸¹).”

Nevertheless, the strategies for 2016-2020 did not provide a specific plan for cross-cutting issues including “gender” or “woman” on papers. How to assist “women” in some sectors like medical services or education was often suggested, but “gender” or “woman” for projects targeting gender equality were rarely addressed.

It insinuates increasing gender equality was just addressed in a way of integrating women in sectors. Besides, sectors included integrating women trotted out increasing number of women in education and in beneficiaries of medical services without connecting problems of gender inequality of the countries. Thus, transforming gender relations was “shrunk” into “motherhood and childbirth” and “girls’ education.”

Moreover, strategies for Nepal, Sri Lanka, Tanzania, and Ethiopia etc. mentioned diverse problems of gender inequality and some causes of the inequality like no proper legal articles for gender equality. Nevertheless, approaches to women for them were only restricted to education and medical services, especially, for reproductive functions. Therefore, “gender equality” was “bent” to fit in the Korean ODA model, “better life for girls” that actually consists of ODA of medical care and education which had been implemented all the time of Korean ODA.

Plus, Seo’s design of better life for girls and health published by KOICA (2016)

¹⁸⁰ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2016. 『캄보디아 국가협력전략』. Pp.1-28.

¹⁸¹ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2016. 『콜롬비아 국가협력전략』. Pp.1-28.

also stated that the ODA for better life for girls was led by president Park's initiative and elaborated specific designs of ODA for better life for girls. ODA for better life for girls was a part of SDG KOICA brand programs that also suggests using ODA for the Korean ODA model and a limitation of SDGs that the goals can be changed by national interpretation¹⁸².

On the other hand, KOICA's plan of ODA for gender equality published in September 2013 (Oh, 2013)¹⁸³ comprehensively studied how to achieve gender equality in multiple sectors with focusing on "gender equality." Moreover, the gender Tool-kit for KOICA workers' operating projects (KOICA, 2014¹⁸⁴) for gender equality and KOICA's plan for promotion of gender equality in 2015 also elaborated plans to strengthen the capability of gender mainstreaming to achieve SDGs and checklists for projects

The KOICA's plans and strategies of ODA for gender equality during Lee's administration also highlighted the importance of driving program/project for "gender equality" and the guidelines for gender equality also elaborated the terms of "gender", "gender equity," "gender equality," and "gender mainstreaming" etc. However, the ideas about ODA by the two governments coexisted with strict

¹⁸² 서경. 2016. 소녀들의 보다 나은 삶 (Better Life for Girls, BLG) 구상과 보전. 『국제 개발협력』. Pp. 45-61.

¹⁸³ 오은정. 2013. 「KOICA 성평등 개발협력사업 방안.」 『한국국제협력단』. Pp. 1-254.

¹⁸⁴ 한국국제협력단 공공행정팀. 2014. 「2014년도 KOICA 젠더 ODA 전문가 워크숍 KOICA 젠더 툴킷(Tool-kit): 프로젝트 형 사업 사업단계별 성주류화 체크리스트.」 『한국국제협력단』. Pp. 3-19.

regulations and suggested rules for gender equality written by KOICA.

VI. Conflict between Feminism and Masculinism During Moon Jae-in's Administration and Its Influence on ODA for Gender Equality

6.1 The Discourse of Gender Equality in Korean Policies until Moon Jae-in's Administration

Park Geun-hye was impeached in March 2017, so her tenure was less than five years, the official presidential term. The next president, Moon Jae-in was elected in May 2017 and it has been about two years until this study on the progress. Moon's tenure is not over, so evaluating the discourse of gender equality during Moon's administration is too soon.

However, this study is to assess how the discourse of gender equality had been changed and to verify if the discourse of gender equality was not affected by the political orientation of the government. Therefore, even though the assessment of Moon's administration's policies is restricted in this study, the policies related to the discourse were examined.

Moon Jae-in's administration was unusually built as the former president Park Geun-hye had been impeached. As soon as she was impeached, the next presidential election was progressed fast and the candidates of the election had to propose their political agendas, addressing problems of Park's administration and suggesting

differences from the administration. Therefore, Moon Jae-in's election pledges and strategies are related to the degree which Moon's approach to gender issues was different from Park's.

In addition, Moon's administration promoted to amend the constitution and which some suggested articles for amending the constitution concerned human rights, gender issues and family issues etc. Unlike Lee's and Park's administration, Moon's administration actually suggested a proposition to amend the constitution that also concern gender issues. Even though the amendment was not passed, the proposition is a good source to assess the discourse of gender equality of Moon's administration.

Accordingly, the discourse of gender equality of Moon Jae-in's administration was studied with Moon's election pledges, electoral strategies and the discourse of gender equality in the changes of the framework on gender equality. Moon's administration by policies were assessed with the 100 political agendas, the suggested proposition for amending the constitution and documents related to ODA by CIDC.

In terms of election pledges and strategies, Moon Jae-in declared that he would be a "feminist president (Park, 2017¹⁸⁵).” No president or presidential candidate promised he or she would be a feminist ever before. Therefore, he showed his willpower to meet women's demands for gender equality with pledges like

¹⁸⁵ 박수진, 2017. 「문재인이 “페미니스트 대통령이 되겠다”며 성평등 공약을 발표했다」
『허핑턴포스트코리아』, 2월 16일, 11시.
https://www.huffingtonpost.kr/2017/02/16/story_n_14788070.html.

improvement of the childcare environment, decrease of discrimination against women, improvement of the environment for non-regular workers, and strong punishment for “gender-based violence¹⁸⁶”.

These pledges included policies concerning unequal gender relations with men in childcare and addressed “gender-based violence”, so they seemed quite relevant with solving gender essentialism compared to the pledges of the previous administrations by addressing “gender.”

Nevertheless, Lee (2017)¹⁸⁷ argued that Moon’s administration is in a tension between masculinism and feminism. According to her, masculinism with discrimination against women was restored as conservative parties politically used feminists’ criticisms of discrimination against women (Bang and Park, 2017¹⁸⁸) and liberal parties kept silent during the process of the impeachment.

However, the demand for policies of feminism fought the masculinism until the election. Although Park, Geun-hye legally deserved to be impeached, her sex was irrelevant with her faults. Nevertheless, discrimination against women was rampant in politicians’ comments. Feminists tried to restrain discriminate comments and behaviors by politicians who used discrimination against women for blaming Park

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ 이진옥. 2017. 「대선과 젠더 정치: 18대 대선과 19대 대선의 불/연속성을 중심으로. 」. 『여성학연구』, 제27권 제2호, pp.95~137.

¹⁸⁸ 방준호 박수지. 「탄핵이 여성혐오라고? 페미니즘 들먹이는 친박 집회. 」 <한겨레>. 2017.3.5.

Geun-hye, restricting her as just a “vulnerable woman (Gang, 2016¹⁸⁹)”.

Therefore, Moon was in the tension between masculinism and feminism and Park could not earn support from women during her tenure, so he announced that he would be a feminist president. Moon actually hired a congresswoman Nam in-soon as the manager of Moon’s election campaign, but he said he didn’t like homosexuality and withdrew a few promised policies for gender equality, which showed his situation between masculinism and feminism¹⁹⁰.

Son (2017) claimed to enforce “the law for prohibition on discrimination” to Moon’s administration, because “sex” in Korea has been gendered in multiple sectors, so “normal sex/gender” confined in the patriarchy and heterosexuality need to be challenged for gender equality¹⁹¹.

However, Moon declared he would not try to enforce “the law for prohibition on discrimination” during his electoral campaign, which is contrary to his opinion he showed in the previous presidential election. In 2012, Moon promised the enactment of the law, but he seemed to have changed his stance in consideration of the tension between masculinism and feminism in 2017 (Lee, 2017¹⁹²).

¹⁸⁹ 강남순. “근본을 알 수 없는 저잣거리 아녀자” 그 레토릭의 위험성.” <허핑턴포스트>. 2016.11.2.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ 손희정. 2017. 「페미니스트 대통령 시대의 대한민국에게 권함: 『‘성’스러운 국민』이 주는 교훈에 대하여 홍양희·박정미·허윤·김청강·이정선·소현숙·김은경·정연보, 『‘성聖/性’스러운 국민 - 젠더와 섹슈얼리티를 둘러싼 근대 국가의 법과 과학』, 『서해문집』, 한국어 성학 제33권 2호 pp.329 ~ 342.

¹⁹² 이정애. “문재인, 성소수자 차별금지법 반대 뜻 밝혀.” <한겨레>. 2017.2.13.

In the changes of the framework act on gender equality, the article 20 for affirmative action and 41 (participation in peace·unification) were newly adopted. Detailed contents of the article 20 showed more specific improvement from affirmative action in Park's regime, but the framework act on gender equality was not replaced with the law for prohibition on discrimination and "equality between women and men" in Korean was used for "gender equality (National Law Information Center, 2019¹⁹³)".

It means how "fix" and "shrink" gender issues by Park's administration were also continued in Moon's administration to some extent. The article 41 includes grounds to protect women from gender-based violence and promotion of unification and peace, so it corresponded to Moon's agendas like the eradication of gender-based violence and efforts for peace and unification. Therefore, Moon's administration "bent" gender issues to include peace and unification¹⁹⁴.

Therefore, Moon's administration's extent of promoting gender equality based on feminism was quite restricted, but the efforts were reflected on policies for coping with gender-based violence related to peace issues.

¹⁹³ 국가법령정보센터. 여성발전기본법.

<http://www.law.go.kr/LSW//lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=908&ancYd=19951230&ancNo=05136&efYd=19960701&nwJoYnInfo=N&efGubun=Y&chrClsCd=010202#0000> (accessed on 11 May 2019)

¹⁹⁴ 국정기획자문위원회. 2017. 「문재인정부 국정운영 5개년 계획」. pp.1-188.

6.2. The Discourse Dynamics of Gender Equality in the Policies by Moon Jae-in Administration Related to ODA

Moon's 100 political agendas included agendas which concern peace, unification, gender issues and ODA. Regarding peace and unification, agenda 90 to 95 stated the administration's plans to encourage the degree of agreement of unification of people and peaceful resolution of problems related to nuclear weapons in North Korea.

In terms of gender inequality issues, agenda 18 stated no discrimination against women in employment; agenda 66 set eradication of gender-based violence and establishment of a culture of gender equality for “substantive gender equality” as goals. Park Geun-hye administration also stressed “substantive gender equality (equality between women and men: yang-sung-pyung-deung)¹⁹⁵” and Moon's administration also mentioned it, too.

The agendas of international development cooperation specifically mentioned that ODA/development cooperation would be promoted for improvement of human rights in North Korea in agenda 92. Plus, agenda 99 was for enhancement of Korean ODA for pursuing national interests including employment of young people in the business of ODA and Korean corporations' activities abroad¹⁹⁶.

Unlike the previous two administrations, Moon's administration firstly mentioned

¹⁹⁵ 제 18대 대통령직인수위원회. 2013. 「제 18대 대통령직인수위원회 제안 박근혜 정부 국정과제」. p.104.

¹⁹⁶ 국정기획자문위원회. 2017. 「문재인정부 국정운영 5개년 계획」. p.1-188.

“gender” with the 100 political agendas of his administration and also highlighted that the spread of understanding of “gender equality” would be promoted, “fixing” gender equality with “sung-pyung-deung (gender/sex equality)” instead of “yang-sung-pyung-deung (equality between women and men).”

Therefore, there were changes in terms of addressing gender issues that can be interpreted as an improvement in the discourse of gender equality of transformative approaches. Moon’s administration strove for the amendment of the constitution and supporters of constitutional amendment for gender equality also joined the progress for amendment.

According to Park (2008)¹⁹⁷, gender-based discrimination can be found in the constitution. Women were regarded a group like boys who need to be protected in the constitution, which means women are not practically legal adults. Besides, articles about women are constrained in the articles concern marriage and family issues, so the articles conceive ideas that childcare, marriage and family issues are women’s sectors.

Therefore, Korean women’s Association United (KWAU) made a proposal for amending constitution based on promoting gender equality that concern gender issues with a perspective of feminists, “fixing” it as “sung-pyung-deung (gender/sex equality).”

¹⁹⁷ 김선옥 외 7명. 2008. 「헌법과 성평등 관련 법률의 향후과제」. 박선영(편).『개헌논의와 성평등: 현행 헌법의 성평등관련조항 개정방향』. 서울: 여성부. pp. 35-63.

However, “sung-pyung-deung (gender/sex equality).” was rejected and “yang-sung-pyung-deung (equality between women and men)” was promoted by other groups opposite to using the expression, “sung-pyung-deung (gender/sex equality).” (Lee, 2018¹⁹⁸).

According to Lee (2018), Although, their arguments for “yang-sung-pyung-deung (equality between women and men)” did not concern discrimination against women and strengthen unequal power relations between men and women as women are restricted to marriage and childbirth, the government changed names of policies that used “sung-pyung-deung (gender/sex equality)” into other names including “women and men¹⁹⁹”.

On the other hand, the suggested proposition for amending the constitution by Moon’s administration had new articles for gender equality and deleted old articles criticized for discrimination against women. Although the amendment did not pass, the proposition suggests Moon’s administration’s efforts for promoting gender equality²⁰⁰.

Therefore, the discourse of gender equality in Moon’s policies is on the borderline by the government’s efforts for gender equality and backlash against the efforts. It resulted in “fixing” gender equality as “equality between women and men;”

¹⁹⁸ 이진옥. 2018. 「개헌의 젠더 트러블 양성평등이 투쟁의 종착지가 된 성평등 개헌의 역설.」 『문화과학』 2018년 여름호 (통권 제 94호). p. 147-175.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ 大韓民國憲法 개정안 신·구조문대비표. 2018. 청와대. p.1-61.

“shrinking” gender issues into “women’s issues,” but addressing more gender issues than “motherhood and childcare.”

According to the documents of CIDC, unlike Lee’s and Park’ administration, the documents of CIDC did not explicitly state that the orientation of the government affected ODA strategies. However, the administration’s agendas for using ODA for employment of Koreans and Korean corporations’ activities were reflected in documents. Besides, new southern policies by Moon’s administration were also mentioned to be reflected on ODA policies in documents of CIDC. Therefore, Moon’s administration’s agendas are likely have been continued to ODA policies.

Korean ODA policies for fragile states are coherent with the orientation of the 100 political agendas of Moon’s administration, the change of framework act on gender equality, the new southern policies and Moon’s speech (CIDC et al, 2018²⁰¹).

The 100 agendas had multiple agendas for “the vulnerable” with policies about family issues, IT issues, employment issues, and income issues etc. Furthermore, the fifth goal of the administration in the agendas was peace and prosperity of Korean peninsula and the framework act on gender equality was amended in 2018 to include an article about participation in peace and unification.

Additionally, the new southern policies included a major policy in terms of assistance for better resilience to regional contingencies (Lee, 2018²⁰²) and president

²⁰¹ 국제개발협력위원회. 2018. 『19년 국제개발협력 종합시행계획[안] (요구액 기준)』 . (제 31-1호). Pp.1-130.

²⁰² 신남방정책특별위원회. 주요 정책. <http://www.nsp.go.kr/policy/policy02Page.do> (accessed on 21 June 2019)

Moon declared that he would increase international development cooperation for the vulnerable including “women,” “children and teenagers,” and “the disabled²⁰³.” Thus, Moon’s administration pursued “peace” in policies and help for “women” as the vulnerable were included in the process.

Accordingly, the comprehensive plan for international development cooperation for 2018, the strategy of assistance for fragile states (MOEF and MOFA, 2017²⁰⁴) and the comprehensive plan for international development cooperation for 2019 (CIDC et al, 2018²⁰⁵) highlighted the importance of assistance for the fragile states the vulnerable including women and children (CIDC et al, 2017²⁰⁶). Assistance for fragile states and the vulnerable is coherent with the government’s orientation, so the assistance seemed to have been promoted along the orientation. This perspective shows “women” were seen as “the vulnerable” first in ODA.

The comprehensive evaluation of Korean ODA in 2017 suggested evaluation criteria of ODA for gender equality and public administration that can assess how much projects meet the goal 5: Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls of sustainable development goals. In the criteria, “gender-based violence”

²⁰³ 이민정. 2018. 「[전문] 문재인 대통령 제73차 유엔총회 기조연설문.」 『중앙일보』, 9월 27일.

²⁰⁴ 기획재정부, 외교부. 2017. 취약국 지원 전략. p.1-10.

²⁰⁵ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2018. ‘19년 국제개발협력 종합시행계획(요구액 기준). p.24

²⁰⁶ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2017. ‘18년 국제개발협력 종합시행계획[요구액 기준]

Moon's administration declared to eradicate was covered (CIDC, 2017²⁰⁷).

In the CIDC documents, gender equality was still “fixed” as “yang-sung-pyung-deung (equality between women and men),” not “sung-pyung-deung (sex/gender equality) by the framework act on gender equality, but the other discourse construction of gender equality in policies was nor shown. The lack of texts of discursive construction of gender equality in documents of CIDC in Moon's administration suggested gender issues had not been addressed as much as the previous two administrations (CIDC et al, 2017²⁰⁸; CIDC et al, 2018²⁰⁹).

Lee's administration needed to earnestly promote gender equality by ODA to join the OECD DAC for a global reputation and Park's administration also promoted “better life for girls” as one of the main policies of Korean ODA, but similar efforts were not found in the documents by CIDC during Moon's administration.

²⁰⁷ 국제개발협력 평가소위원회. 2017. ‘17년 국제개발협력 통합평가결과(안). p.47.

²⁰⁸ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2017. 『'18년 국제개발협력 종합시행계획 (요구액 기준)』. (제 29-1호). Pp.1-32.

²⁰⁹ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2018. 『'19년 국제개발협력 종합시행계획 (요구액 기준)』. (제 31-1호). Pp.1-35.

6.3. The Discourse of Gender Equality in the Strategies of ODA at Moon Jae-in's Administration

It has been only two years since Moon Jae-in administration was started, so CPSs were not newly written and KOICA's new documents are fewer than the ones of the two previous governments, so KOICA's mid-term strategy 2016-2020 for gender equality and the impact of KOICA's projects on gender equality: how to strengthen project implementation were studied.

KOICA's mid-term strategy 2016-2020 (KOICA, 2016²¹⁰) used the term “sung-pyung-deung (gender/sex equality)” instead of “yang-sung-pyung-deung (equality between women and men)” and women's authority was also included in the strategy. Gender equality needs to be achieved by empowerment that consists of ‘autonomy’ and ‘authority.’

According to Ferre and Gamson (2003), empowerment have two dimensions: autonomy and authority. Autonomy is a freedom to make life choices and authority is a participation in political authority in making decisions about the group²¹¹. The strategy 2016-2020 in terms of gender equality addressed not only employment of women but also enhancement of women's social positions which are both connected to women's autonomy and authority.

²¹⁰ 한국국제협력단. 2017. 『제 2기 성평등 중기전략 (2016-2020)』.

²¹¹ Ferree MM and Gamson W. 2003. “The Gendering of Governance and the Governance of Gender.” In: Hobson B (ed.) *Recognition Struggles and Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 35–63.

However, women were considered as “the vulnerable” in the strategy 2016-2020 for gender equality as women were regarded as the vulnerable in the strategy of assistance for fragile states and the comprehensive evaluation of Korean ODA in 2017. The perspective of considering women as the vulnerable was not confined in humanitarian assistance, but it was continued to strategies for gender equality. Besides, KOICA launched a committee for gender equality and the vulnerable, which clearly shows KOICA consider women as “the vulnerable (MOEF and MOFA, 2017²¹²; KOICA, 2017²¹³).”

Parpart (1993) suggested that the tendency to concentrate on women as the vulnerable can ignore the existence of diverse women who can contribute to development process. Besides, development experts paid more attention to redistribution and underdevelopment than gender struggle, so seeing women as just “the vulnerable” can make only vulnerable women’s voices be counted²¹⁴.

Therefore, women were also “shrunk” into “the vulnerable.” Korean policies for gender equality had four common elements and two of them were seeing women as the vulnerable and confining them into one entity without considering their differences. However, according to Carpenter (2005)²¹⁵, gender essentialism of

²¹² 기획재정부·외교부. 2017. 『취약국 지원 전략』. (제 29차 국제개발협력위원회). Pp.1-10.

²¹³ 한국국제협력단. 2017. 『제 2기 성평등 중기전략 (2016-2020)』

²¹⁴ Jane L. Parpart. 1993. “Who is the ‘Other’?: A Postmodern Feminist Critique of Women and Development Theory and Practice.” *Development and Change* Vol. 24.: 439-464.

²¹⁵ R. Charli carpenter. 2005. “Women, Children and Other Vulnerable Groups”: Gender, Strategic Frames and the Protection of Civilians as a Transnational Issue.” *International Studies Quarterly* 49: 295-334

seeing women as “the vulnerable” is not limited in Korea, but common over the world as UN organizations keep the discourse and workers also believe the perspective is useful to help people by using the effect of the norms of the gender essentialism. Therefore, the effect of norm schemas of gender that is used over the world needs to be studied more to learn how to overcome gender essentialism.

VII. KOICA's ODA Projects for Gender Equality Conceiving Gender Essentialism from Lee Myung-bak Administration to Moon Jae-in Administration

7.1. The Targeted Projects for Gender Equality from 2012 to 2019

KOICA adopted the DAC gender equality policy marker to check how much projects are related to gender equality by marking points. This indicator is for assessing project/programs to check how much they are related to gender issues by a scoring system and minimum criteria about gender and the data of scored projects are submitted to the OECD DAC.

The project managers of KOICA check their project if their projects were to contribute to gender equality in spite of that gender equality was not the main target of the project (mark 1) or the main target of them was for gender equality (mark 2) or the projects were irrelevant with gender issues at all (mark 0)²¹⁶.

The projects marked 1 and 2 all are relevant with promoting gender equality to some extent and projects marked 2 do not guarantee their effectiveness of promoting gender equality are higher than the effectiveness by projects marked 1.

Therefore, all the obtained documents of preliminary investigation or evaluation

²¹⁶ OECD-DAC NETWORK ON GENDER EQUALITY. 2016. *Handbook on the OECD-DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker*: pp.1-22.

about projects marked 1 or 2 were assessed by the criteria of the common elements of gender essentialism of Korea.

The elements are first, seeing women as the vulnerable; second, women being integrated into labor not considering gender issues (untapped resources). third, the responsibility of care work was being only imposed on women. fourth, women being deemed as one entity without considering differences between them.

KOICA's regulations of promoting gender equality and women empowerment was enforced since December 2010, so this study checked documents of projects written from 2011. KOICA's statistical service homepage provides information about projects marked by the DAC gender equality policy marker which has been implemented until 2017 (KOICA, 2019 ²¹⁷), so which points the projects implemented since Moon was elected belong to were not able to be checked.

Therefore, this study assessed preliminary investigation documents, basic design documents, and evaluation documents of projects written from 2011 to 2017 to assess projects planned and implemented during Lee's administration and Park's administration and project documents written between 2018 and 2019 as research resources of projects during Moon's administration.

According to KOICA's statistical service homepage, all the projects managed by KOICA and marked by the DAC gender equality policy marker were checked, but not all the documents were accessible through the online ODA library which

²¹⁷ 한국국제협력단. 통계조회서비스.

<http://stat.koica.go.kr/ipm/os/acms/btypPrjctCoList.do?lang=ko> (accessed on 12 May 2019)

KOICA's documents can be downloaded from. Hence, this study assessed all the documents able to be downloaded from the online ODA library which are fewer than all the documents of the KOICA projects marked.

According to the findings of policies and strategies promoted by Lee's, Park's, and Moon's administrations, KOICA's projects relevant with the government's agendas are "new village movement," "green growth," "better life for girls," and "response to gender-based violence." Therefore, the projects of the themes marked by the DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker are assessed to learn how much they have the elements of gender essentialism.

7.2. The New Village Movement Projects Marked 1 or 2 by the DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker

The new village movement for ODA projects has been promoted from Lee's administration to Park's administration as it was included as a part of the Korean ODA model (CIDC et al, 2011²¹⁸; CIDC, 2011²¹⁹). According to the resources, "women" were considered as a cross-cutting issue and integrating women as representatives in communities was mentioned, which was the only thing addressing gender issues except training and medical care.

²¹⁸ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2011. 『'12년 국제개발협력 종합시행계획(안) (요약본)』. (제 11-1호). Pp.4-64.

²¹⁹ 국제개발협력위원회. 2011. 『국제개발협력(ODA) 사업모델 -새마을운동, 직업훈련, 모자보건-』. Pp.5-24.

According to the assumption of this study, transforming gender norms is necessary for achieving gender equality, but the ODA model of the new village movement was mostly about integrating “women” into an area where men alone used to be in charge without comprehensive examining gender norms limiting gender equality. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the new village movement in Korea, the original one, also had clear limitations in terms of promoting gender equality. Nevertheless, the model of the new village movement didn’t have improved elements to contribute to gender equality more. In short, the model was restricted to contribute to gender equality from the level of policies and strategies.

KOICA’s New Village Movement projects marked 1 or 2 that could be downloaded from the online ODA library were Vietnam Lao Cai Saemaeul Undong (“HaengBok Program for LC 2014~2017”) and Quang Tri Hanh Phuc(happiness)Program with sharing development experience of Saemaul Undong.

In the preliminary study of Vietnam Lao Cai Saemaeul Undong, “women” were put as the vulnerable and women were regarded as the beneficiary, but the reason was not suggested in the report at all. According to the basic design study paper of the project, empowerment for Mother and Child Health of the community was mentioned and the improvement of medical conditions of women and children was suggested as the expected outcome of the project for women (KOICA, 2014²²⁰;

²²⁰ 한국국제협력단. 2014. 『베트남 라오까이성 새마을운동사업 (라오까이성 행복프로그램) 실시협약의 결과보고서』. Pp.1-257.

KOICA, 2013²²¹).

According to the basic study paper of Quang Tri Hanh Phuc(happiness)Program (KOICA, 2014²²²), examination of women's situations was implemented like the basic design study of Lao Cai Saemaeul Undong. Women's literacy rates, medical service for women, and promoting women to be representatives were considered, but what would be gender obstacles for women in the communities was not studied. In the projects, women were seen as the vulnerable, mothers, and untapped resources could be integrated in labors.

According the CPS of Vietnam, gender-based discrimination against women in unofficial areas was mentioned as an obstacle to promote gender equality. The projects of the new village movement aimed to improve agricultural and medical conditions in the communities, so women could have been benefited from the projects to some degree, but how and how much gender equality was promoted by the projects were uncertain (CIDC et al, 2011²²³).

Consequently, the ODA projects of the new village movement saw women as “untapped resource,” “one group”, not addressing women's differences, and the responsibility of care work was not challenged either. Based on these findings, the projects of the new village movement are found not gender sensitive.

²²¹ 한국국제협력단. 2013. 『베트남 라오까이성 새마을운동 사업 (라오까이성 행복프로그램 2014-2017) 사전타당성 결과보고서』. Pp.1-116.

²²² 한국국제협력단. 2014. 『베트남 팡찌성 새마을운동사업 (팡찌성 행복프로그램) 실시협의 결과보고서』. Pp.1-324.

²²³ 국제개발협력위원회 및 관계부처 합동. 2011. 『베트남 국가협력전략 2011-2015』. pp. 14.

From the policy/strategy level, the new village movement was confined in approaches of equal opportunities and affirmative action without considering prescribed gender roles limiting women's freedom and it went on the projects. Therefore, the GAD approaches necessary for transforming gender norms were rarely reflected on the ODA of the new village movement.

7.3. The Green Growth Projects Marked 1 or 2 by the DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker

The ODA for green growth was carried by Lee's administration's initiative. Green growth relatively doesn't concern gender issues. However, ODA for green growth was strongly supported by the administration and "environment" was categorized as a cross-cutting issue like "women." "Environment" covering "green growth" is included in the cross-cutting issues like "women;" "environment" is more focused by the government and KOICA; and "women" is "bent" to promote green growth more, so ODA for gender equality was affected by ODA for green growth.

According to East Asia Climate Change Partnership and Kim and ODA Watch's report, the government was spending about 2,000 KRW (about 2 billion dollars) to assist Asian countries' green growth. The ODA projects of the partnership were the project for improving efficiency of supplying water in Ulaanbaatar District, Mongolia and the project for assistance of developing reclaimed water in Absheron

Peninsula, the Azerbaijani Republic (KOICA, 2012; Kim²²⁴ and ODA watch, 2012²²⁵).

The projects were all marked 1 by the OEDC DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker and their preliminary studies were written before 2011, but the evaluation papers of them were written between 2015 and 2017. As the projects were planned before 2011, how much they cover gender issues is difficult to study, but the evaluation results of them can suggest how gender was treated by projects not concerning gender issues.

The evaluation paper of the project for improving efficiency of supplying water in Ulaanbaatar District, Mongolia stated that the project did not address “equality between women and men” from the beginning, so the outcome/impact of the project on “equality between women and men” is difficult to check (KOICA, 2015²²⁶). The evaluation paper of the project for assistance of developing reclaimed water in Absheron Peninsula, the Azerbaijani Republic also stated that the project was not significantly beneficial to gender equality and expected that it could have contributed to decrease women’s housework time to some extent with scarce data about gender issues.

It is difficult to say the projects of green growth had enough data to check gender essentialism was reflected on the projects addressing green growth issues and gender

²²⁴ 한국국제협력단. 2012. 『녹색 ODA 현황 분석 및 활성화 방안 연구』 . pp. 11-16.

²²⁵ 김기식, ODA Watch. 2012. 『이명박정부ODA 정책평가와 차기 정부에 대한 제언』 pp. 29-31.

²²⁶ 한국국제협력단. 2015. 『몽골 울란바타르시 야르막 지역 용수공급 및 수자원이용 효율화사업 종료평가 결과보고서』 . pp. 1--81.

issues both. However, as gender was “bent” for green growth by integrating “women” into the policies and strategies of green growth, projects for green growth were marked 1 by the DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker without proper consideration of gender issues. It alludes the possibility of de-gendering process of ODA projects by goals not relevant gender equality.

7.4. Better Life for Girls Projects Marked 1 or 2 by the DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker

Projects for better life for girls are difficult to distinguish from the other projects for “equality between women and men” by KOICA as the contents of better life for girls are mostly about education, mother and child health that KOICA has addressed even before president park promised Korea’s assistance for “better life for girls” in 2015. Therefore, not only projects literally stated “girl,” but also ODA projects for Mother and Child Health are also projects for better life for girls.

Projects using the term, “girl” and supporting mother and children’s health all had clear signs of gender essentialism. They all regarded girls or women as potential mothers first and how girls and women can be utilized for labor or development was the major approach to gender issues by the projects, so significant examination of gender issues for transforming gender norms was rarely found in the documents of the projects.

The preliminary study of Better Life for Out-of-School Girls in Tacloban to Fight

Against Poverty and Injustice (KOICA, 2018²²⁷) was for improving the quality of female teenagers through educational programs. In the report, the analysis on the beneficiary (girls) stated that investment for girls is for future “motherhood,” “child health,” and “improvement of domestic economy.”

These expressions all represent gender essentialism. Documents of ODA projects seldom mention that boys or men are responsible of families or/and babies or/and children’s health. On the other hand, even ODA projects for girls or/and women would mention that pursuing gender equality or “equality between women and men” is helpful for “motherhood” or “children” or “health.”

One must not be discriminated by her or his gender or sex. This is already an enough reason to pursue gender equality, but the preliminary study document of this projects suggests economic or maternal reasons to plan and implement projects for “women.” It is bypassing gender-based discrimination in reality that has to be tackled for fundamentally achieving gender equality. However, transforming gender equality for achieving gender equality was minimalized in the project with providing educational services without addressing gender issues.

The preliminary study of the Community-Based Comprehensive Maternal, Neonatal & Child Health Promotion in Ethiopia in 2015 and the evaluation report of The Project for the Improvement of Health Service Provision in Tigray, Ethiopia also did

²²⁷ 한국국제협력단. 2018. 필리핀 UNESCO 타클로반 지역 학교밖 소녀를 위한 교육사업(2017-2019/600만불) 예비조사 결과보고서』. pp. 1-24.

not address women's issues as gender issues properly (KOICA, 2015²²⁸; KOICA, 2016²²⁹).

Especially, the evaluation report mentioned that “equality between women and men” will be realized fundamentally in the future, because the project is for women's health. the comment in the study clearly shrunk “equality between women and men” into something can be achieved by just medical services. Gender inequality can be found everywhere, so it became a “cross-cutting issue.” However, Korean ODA just “fixed” gender equality as “equality between women and men”, “shrunk” “gender issues” into “women's issues,” and “bent” projects for gender equality to fit in the Korean ODA model. Therefore, projects for better life for girls fit all the elements of gender essentialism that denote low gender sensitivity.

7.5. Project for response to gender-based violence between 2018-2019

There are new kind of projects about women or gender that were rarely executed before Moon's administration, which are projects for eradication of gender-based violence. The basic plan of Preventing and Responding to Gender-Based Violence in Timor-Leste (KOICA, 2019²³⁰) suggested diverse outputs for tackling gender-

²²⁸ 한국국제협력단. 2015. 『에티오피아 오로미아주 모자보건 및 가족계획 증진사업 사전 타당성조사 보고서』. (동아프리카 2015-06-115). Pp.1-61.

²²⁹ 한국국제협력단. 2016. 『에티오피아 오로미아주 모자보건 및 가족계획 증진사업 사전 타당성조사 보고서』. (동아프리카 2016-02-047). Pp.1-52.

²³⁰ 한국국제협력단. 2019. 『동티모르 One UN 젠더기반폭력 예방 및 대응 지원 사업 (2020-2023/800만불) 기본계획』. (동남아시아 2019-05-046). Pp.1-48.

based violence like establishing legal system to cope with gender-based violence, behavioral changes for stopping gender-based violence, supports for the victims, and changing attitudes for stopping gender-based violence.

Unlike the previous projects related to gender issues, this project practically criticized people's perceptions connected to gender-based discrimination against women, the patriarchy and men's power. Aligning with Moon's agenda, ODA for gender equality adopted "eradication of gender-based violence," so the administration's agenda of gender is consistent with ODA projects to respond to gender-based violence.

The project for responding to gender-based violence shows a significant improvement of dealing with gender issues in ODA projects. It did not put women as subjects that belong to the patriarchy, as (potential) mothers, and as untapped resources for economic activities. Nevertheless, women in the project are still the vulnerable who need help. How the women experienced can actively respond to violence as an active agent was not addressed, which is an issue to be discussed to overcome the gender essentialism in ODA.

VIII. Conclusion

8.1. Discussion

As this study proposed, the administrations' political agendas have been affected on policies of ODA related to gender equality and projects for gender equality. Korean society always have had the gender essentialism in policies, which has been continued to the next administration.

The political orientation of each administration could divert the discourse of gender equality to some extent, but the dichotomy between women and men has been strong in the society, so it has not been challenged enough to change the discourse of gender equality from "equality between women and men" to "gender/sex equality."

In detail, Lee's administration pursued a global reputation in the international community, "Global Korea," so the administration strove to comply with the global norms of the ODA business. Furthermore, the global reputation Lee's administration aimed for was a Korean style that can stand out Korean development. That's why the Korean ODA model including new village movement and medical services stemmed from mother and child health act.

Park's administration also wanted to earn a global reputation for national interests, so the president herself promised to provide ODA of "better life for girls" that shrunk women and girls as the vulnerable, future mothers, and useful resources in economic activities without concerning gender inequality. The projects were marked as

projects for gender equality, but consideration of gender equality in the projects were barely addressed.

During Moon's administration, gender essentialism is also prevalent like the previous two administrations which pursue national interests by ODA. His agendas of ODA specifically mentioned that ODA would be used for employment of Koreans and abroad activities of Korean firms. In terms of gender issues, Moon's administration tried to embrace feminism in his policies. Besides, efforts to fight gender-based violence were reflected on ODA projects, so there was improvement of ODA projects for gender equality to some extent. However, the other ODA projects for gender equality still conceived gender essentialism, which was not tackled well.

This prevalence of gender essentialism in ODA policies and projects could be possible, because the governance of Korean ODA has been the government-oriented network. According to the CIDC that complies with the government's policies, Korean ODA policies and strategies have been written, so the administrations' orientation was affected on the Korean ODA.

The discourse of gender equality was constructed in the progress of "fixing" the meaning of gender equality, "shrinking" the scope of gender equality, "stretching" the scope of gender equality, and "bending" the territory of gender equality to be suited in projects for other goals.

According to the previous studies, gender equality has been "fixed" into "equality between women and men" that does not negate or challenge masculinism or men

biased gender relations and “gender” was shrunk into “women’s” issues, so women were seen as just the vulnerable who need help.

The discourse of Korean ODA for gender equality has been confirmed by the elements that represent the discourse of gender essentialism of the projects. The gender essentialism restricts women as inferior existences to men, so women have no choice but to rely on men’s assistance. Therefore, it has to be abolished. The Beijing Platform that Korea and other countries agreed to follow already suggested transformation of gender relations for gender equality, but Korean discourse of gender equality is still much behind in the stage.

In conclusion, Korean society conceives gender essentialism and the administrations also need to be aligned to the discourse, which results in ODA for gender equality based on gender essentialism.

8.2. Recommendation

Korean ODA for gender equality with medical services for mother and child health, education for girls to be available workers, and giving opportunities to women to join the community men used to be in charge obviously can contribute to promote gender equality to some degree.

However, such assistances can’t fundamentally diminish the causes of gender inequality. The gender inequality is rooted from the gender norms constructed by people’s interpretation of women and men or femininity and masculinity that keep

people's capabilities restricted in the gender norms.

Gender equality was pursued by feminists who demanded the equal rights for women that women deserve as much as men, but the cause was bent to contribute to economic growth of countries that is regarded as the whole part of development. Women must not be forced to sacrifice their rights to be equally treated.

Korean ODA was promoted by the Korean ODA model driven by Lee's and Park's administration and it is still being utilized, but Korean ODA model constructed with Korean experience can't contribute to gender equality of developing countries as Korean experience also had gender essentialism and policies disadvantageous to women.

Most OECD DAC countries do not use their own experience model and it is uncertain that Korean experience can be useful for development of other countries. Korean experience for other sectors might be useful for development of others, but Korean discourse of gender equality has clear limitations to assist promoting gender equality.

Therefore, Korean discourse of gender equality must be adjusted to meet the demands of feminists to transform unequal gender relations by regular Koreans, Korean politicians and bureaucrats and development experts with accepting more ideas of feminism fundamentally.

However, in a short term, the changes can't be realized. KOICA's independence, utilizing more qualitative methods for ODA projects about gender issues, and stronger partnership with feminism experts and NGOs can be useful to improve the

quality of ODA projects for gender equality in a relatively short term.

KOICA had to implement ODA projects connected to the government's agendas, because it was dependent on the government's ideas and the decisions of CIDC, so empowerment of KOICA for its independent management of ODA can be useful.

Just KOICA's independent management is not enough. Most KOICA workers are not experts of gender issues and Korean ODA studies mostly rely on quantitative index, but gender issues can be different in each region. Therefore, qualitative studies like interview need to be utilized much more in studies of projects for gender equality.

The shortest and fastest approach to improve ODA projects for gender equality for KOICA is to have stronger partnerships with experts of feminism and NGOs good at gender issues. If they can participate in preliminary and basic design studies more, the quality of projects can be improved more.

8.3. Limitation

First, this study especially focused on textual analysis on documents to assess discourses of gender or gender equality, so ODA workers and politicians' ideas about gender, attitudes about ODA for gender equality, and the other information about ODA for gender equality not written on documents were not able to be examined. Therefore, different methods for the assessment of discourses should be supplemented in later researches.

Second, how much international norms were influential on the Korean ODA for

gender equality was not fully explained. This study was for studying how Korean political agendas have been related to gender essentialism and how policies affected by gender essentialism were connected to ODA projects, so external factors like international norms were not comprehensively studied in this study.

Third, the elements of gender essentialism in policies are easily noticeable in the other countries, too. As Canada and UN organizations had policy documents showing gender essentialism, most countries also still conceive gender essentialism. Accordingly, the findings of this study can't be Korean unique elements, but the common characteristics of many countries. However, how gender essentialism is maintained and proceeded by the politics in Korea was well confirmed with relatively much data of the Korean ODA. The findings can suggest how promoting gender equality should be addressed from now on.

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Abstract in Korean

한국의 성평등을 위한

정책에서 나타나는 젠더 근본주의:

KOICA 프로젝트의 제한된 젠더감수성

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젠더 본질주의란, 여성의 본질은 이미 정해져 있고 보편적이라는 믿음 하에 여성을 취약층 또는 어머니 또는 경제 성장에 이용되지 못 한 자원으로만 보는 관념을 의미한다. 여성은 젠더 그리고 여성을 위한다는 전통적인 기관들에 의해 차별을 받아왔고 여성주의자들은 국제사회가 젠더에 기반한 여성에 대한 차별에 대응하기를 요구했다. 국제사회는 이에 동의하였다. 예를 들어, 1995년에 선언된 베이징 행동강령은 미리 정해진 젠더 역할로 인한 젠더 기반한 차별에 대해서 어떻게 대응할 것인지에 대한 내용이 기재되어 있다.

젠더에 기반한 차별은 남성주의에 유리한 젠더 본질주의로부터 비롯될 수 있다. 그러므로 여성주의자들은 미리 정해진 젠더 역할을 변화시키는 성평등으로 새로운 젠더 역할을 형성하는 것이 성평등을 위해 필수적이라고 보았다.

따라서, 베이징 행동강령에 동의한 많은 국가들은 성평등을 위한

정책과 전략을 받아들였고 국제개발협력 분야는 성평등을 위한 국제개발협력을 제공하기 시작했다.

하지만 개발협력은 국내의 정책과 정치에 영향을 받으므로 국제 규범과 일치하기 어렵다. 그러므로 성평등의 의미는 국내의 이익에 부합한 방식으로, 편리하게 고정되고, 축소되고, 늘어나고, 구부러질 수 있다. 따라서, 성평등에 대한 담론은 성평등에 대한 정책의 방향을 설정하기 위해서 매우 중요하다.

대한민국의 경우에, 국내 정치는 여성에게 불리했으며 젠더 본질주의는 정책에 녹아 있었다. 게다가 한국의 공적개발원조 거버넌스는 정부중심의 네트워크로, 정부의 의제들이 우선시되었다. 그리하여 정부의 젠더에 대한 정책 및 담론은 한국의 성평등에 대한 공적개발원조에도 연결되게 되었다.

본 연구의 발견에 따르면, 이전 정부들의 영향을 받은 이명박 정부부터 문재인 정권까지의 정부들은 한국의 적책들은 젠더 본질주의를 품고 있었다. 그러므로 한국의 성평등에 대한 담론은 젠더 본질주의를 타파하기 위해 논의될 필요가 있다.

Keywords: 젠더 본질주의, 성평등, ODA, 정부중심의 네트워크, 담론, 정책 (within 6 words)

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